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[For additional information on the author's statistical analysis of his data, see Category 12.]

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INTRODUCTION

packed clearing amid a grove of trees. Myers is slightly stooped from rheumatism and wears two brass wires around his ankles to help relieve the pain in his legs. His African-born grandmother, Bina, "tell me how she get heah on a big boat an she lan down theah on Cumberland Ilun on a big dock." He tells the visitors how the slaveholders "broke" newly enslaved Africans by confining them in a log house, chaining them to iron rings in the floor:

> They chained them wile Africans theah till they wuz tame. They'd take em out one by one and they'd give em a stick an put em in the fiel with people wut knowd how tuh wuk an that way they lun how too. They sked to give em a hoe. It's shahp and they might frail roun with it.

Look at his picture. A big, barefoot, very black man with a fringe of white beard, Jim Myers is a living link between Georgia and Africa.

FROM THEIR ENCOUNTERS with Katie Brown, Tony William Delegal, Henry Williams, and Jim Myers—and with 134 other people like them in twenty locations over a three-year period—the fieldworkers of the Savannah Unit of the Federal Writers Project fashioned a series of haunting portraits in words and pictures of coastal black Georgians. Their book, *Drums and Shadows*, is aimed at a general audience. It is organized by community and is presented in a straightforward narrative spiced with long quotations in a readable literary adaptation of the black Georgians' speech. It is filled with rich examples of Afro-American folklore.

Drums and Shadows presents much information on folk speech and naming patterns, including the use of day names and the folk etymology of Gullah. Here are examples of numerous African words used in coastal Georgia. Here is *deloe*

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(water), *juba haltuh* (water bucket), *sisure* (chicken), *gombay* (cow), *nyana* (fish), *flim* (pancakes), *mosojo* (pot), *diffy* (fire), *nyam* (eat), *mulafo* (whiskey), and *musongo* (tobacco). Here are *ma-foo-bey* (an expression of surprise) and the expletive *skinskon*. Here are folk narratives of Buh Rabbit, mysterious spiders, magic hoes, landing Ibos, flying Africans, and various supernatural spirits. Here are African songs—*a-shou-tu-goula*, the lullaby *nikki-yimi, nikki-yimi*, and the refrain *yeribum, yeribum, yeribum, by*. Here is the ballad of Bo-cat, the wife murderer. Here is instrumental music on banjos, bones, drums, and gourds. And here are such dances as the Buzzard Lope, the Camel Walk, Come Down to the Mire, the Fish Bone, the Fish Tail, and the Snake Hip. Here are examples of folk religion in descriptions of Moslem ancestors and African prayer rituals. Here are the chanted *Belambi, Hackabera, Ameela, Mahamadu*, and *Ameen, Ameen, Ameen* during prayers, followed by *Meena, mino, mo* at the end of prayers, and *Kum buba yali kum buba tambe, kum kunka yali, kum kunka tembe*, said before flying back to Africa. Here are river baptisms, and sermons, and guest appearances by Father Divine and Daddy Grace. Other folk beliefs are exemplified in conjure bags and conjure doctors, graveyard dirt, mojoes, such charms as Adam and Eve Root, Black Cat Bone, Lucky Heart, and High John the Conqueror. Here are examples of customary folklore in birth customs and death customs as well as festival celebrations. And here are descriptions of material culture, including folk architecture and such foodways as the use of benne seeds, palm cabbage and palm wine, palmetto cabbage and palmetto wine, peanuts, ashcakes, and African rice cakes. Among the folk crafts produced by black coastal Georgians are baskets, beads, bowls and utensils, musical instruments, walking sticks, and carved wooden spoons.

In its concentration on local folklore *Drums and Shadows* was pursuing a policy encouraged by the national office of the Federal Writers' Project. An agency of the New Deal's Work

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121 Sterling Brown insisted that "half truth is not enough, however picturesque." He urged fieldworkers to avoid taking white southern opinion as the arbiter of authenticity in black southern folklore. If, on the other hand, the accounts were genuine, if they went beyond a simplistic and misleading treatment of serious sociological issues, then as a result both blacks and whites could lay down the burden that stereotypes had put upon them. That, he believed, could ultimately bring about a revitalization of American culture."

Perhaps neither the consultants nor the national officials were completely happy with *Drums and Shadows*. Like many pioneering efforts, it picked its way cautiously through underbrush and thickets that obscured what lay ahead. The Savannah fieldworkers could see where they had come from more clearly than where they were going. Unlike Herskovits's 121 *Myth of the Negro Past*, which propounded theories of retention, reinterpretation, and syncretism, *Drums and Shadows* • 128 eschews analysis. Seventy African parallels are cited and documented in the appendix, but the book ignores European parallels and the influence of culture contact. "Though European parallels could be cited for many of the cultural patterns," Mary Granger acknowledges, "the citations in the appendix have been limited to African material both because the European material is better known and because the African parallels suggest interesting lines of investigation." In his foreword Guy B. Johnson emphasizes that *Drums and Shadows* "wisely refrained from attempting to include an investigation of subjects like folk music and dialect, which require special training and technical analysis." Perhaps because of having eschewed such analysis, *Drums and Shadows* seems fresher nearly half a century later than the theoretical works of the period. Scholars now recognize that coastal [192] blacks of Georgia and South Carolina developed a creole lan- [126] guage that played a crucial role in shaping a creole culture. If the Savannah fieldworkers mistakenly considered their infor-

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mants to be speaking in "dialect," in contrast to speaking "correctly," they nevertheless render that speech so accurately that scholars can reconstruct the grammatical rules of the creole language as spoken in coastal Georgia. Furthermore, the Savannah fieldworkers make a determined effort to note generational and educational differences in speech and to demonstrate such sociolinguistic features as code-switching ("excitement or emotion often throws the speaker back into a type of speech which ordinarily he no longer uses"). In the pages of *Drums and Shadows* modern readers can find the evidence to support a far more sophisticated understanding of the creolization of Afro-American culture than those put forward by Phillips, or Park, or even Herskovits."

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evidence to support a far more sophisticated understanding of the creolization of Afro-American culture than those put forward by Phillips, or Park, or even Herskovits."

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LOOK AT THE PICTURES. Among the notable features of *Drums and Shadows* is a series of sensitive and evocative photographs by Muriel and Malcolm Bell, Jr. These pictures transcend mere illustration; they are, in fact, a scholarly photographic essay. In the original publication the photographs followed the text almost as an afterthought. For this Brown Thrasher edition new prints have been made from the original negatives. Some additional photographs made for the original project but not published in the first edition are now included. The photographs have been printed and their sequence organized under the supervision of Muriel and Malcolm Bell for this edition, and the photographic essay is now printed where it should be—at the beginning. It is an essay that amplifies and comments on the life of these people visually, an essay that says things about their culture that cannot be said in words.

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Look at the faces of these people of coastal Georgia. Look at the way they sit or stand. Look at their houses and their surroundings. Listen to their voices. In these pictures and in these words a portrait emerges: a portrait of a certain time and place, a portrait of an important part of southern culture.

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collaboration, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, and resolved that our photographs of the Negroes would be as sharply focused as had been our Savannah houses. The soft focus of the Ulmann portraits was not to our liking, nor was the poor quality of their reproduction. Ulmann's remarkable ability to capture an attitude and to reflect her subject's character we hoped to emulate. We soon learned that to photograph a person, particularly a child, was far removed from making a portrait of an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century building.

Our picture-taking expeditions were always led by Mary Granger. If our subjects were to be close by Savannah she would have made arrangements with friends or with members of her staff who conducted earlier interviews. The usual procedure was for our leader to engage the subjects in conversation at a spot we had chosen with an eye to light and background. The camera on the tripod and the black cloth that we were forever ducking under to focus and compose invariably provoked their interest and usually put them at ease. Mary Granger's confident and cheerful demeanor and her good sense of humor accounted for the bright, responsive expressions that show on the faces of many of the older people. She questioned as she talked, made notes on interesting responses, and often would chant the African song "Kum Baba Yano," which she had learned from old Tony Delegal. This never failed to bring a look of incredulity to the faces of our subjects.

On the island trips and those to distant and remote areas our arrival was unannounced. Mary Granger was always ready to reward cooperative subjects or to persuade reluctant ones to be photographed with an offer of sweet rolls, tobacco, or old but serviceable clothes, all of which Miss Granger seemed to have in endless supply.

The *Drums and Shadows* photographs have appeared in any number of publications, the artifacts and the Bowen grave markers more frequently than the portraits. The latter,

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PHOTOGRAPHERS' NOTE

126 particularly those of Katie Brown, Shad Hall, the young girl at Pin Point, and old Jim Myers, have been used in numerous 128 photographic exhibits in Savannah and elsewhere. When Katie Brown's likeness was on display in a Savannah bank, one of the employees recognized her as a much-loved grandmother. The incident prompted a gathering of members of the Brown descendants—schoolteachers, principals, postal workers, young and old, sons, daughters, grand- and great-grandchildren.

Our contract with the federal government permitted the use of twenty-five of our photographs. We retained the ownership of the negatives and of the rights to reproduce. We were paid two dollars for each print. Most of the reproductions used in this new edition of *Drums and Shadows* were made from the old negatives by Savannahian Jack Leigh, a sensitive and understanding technician and a very able photographer.

The *Drums and Shadows* project became a meaningful episode in our lives. The simple dignity, the presence and pride of the people we photographed won from us lasting respect.

MURIEL BARROW BELL
MALCOLM BELL, JR.

Savannah, 1986

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study of these heritages may point the way to racial understanding and the alleviation of friction between the races in the United States. My own position lies somewhere between these two, since I believe that there are a few important African survivals in the United States, but that the degree of significance of these African heritages is questionable in view of the overwhelming tendency of the culture of the white man to displace the Negro's African culture, and that their influence on the everyday problem of race relations is relatively inconsequential.

However, regardless of differences of opinion as to the nature and importance of African heritages in our civilization, almost everyone would agree that the question is interesting and worthy of study. Such study may not only satisfy a wholesome curiosity but may throw light on the scientific problem of the processes which go on when two different cultures come into contact. In dealing with the material collected for this book, Miss Granger makes no decision as to the African sources of particular traits. She has, however, included a valuable appendix on West African culture patterns and has cited therein numerous possible parallels between these patterns and the culture of Georgia coastal Negroes.

Drums and Shadows will interest the scholar as well as the general reader, for it has combed over a strategic area, has discovered clues, has raised problems, and thus made easier the way of any cultural anthropologist who might want to follow and attempt a definitive scientific study of the question of African heritages and influences in American civilization.

GUY B. JOHNSON
University of North Carolina
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Acknowledgements

•128 GRATEFUL THANKS ARE DUE TO MELVILLE J. HERskovits and Guy B. Johnson whose unfailing interest has been an inspiration and whose critical advice and untiring encouragement have been a valuable aid to the project. The project also wishes to thank William Bascom, Sterling Brown, Benjamin L. Hubert, Charles S. Johnson, William F. Ogburn, Newbell Niles Puckett, and Lorenzo Turner for helpful criticism and to acknowledge the outstanding work of Virginia Thorpe, project editor, and Albert Dunbar, project research field worker, in connection with the manuscript.

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Notes to the Reader

128 PRONUNCIATION OF INDIVIDUAL WORDS, ELISION, and emphasis play almost equal roles in the Negro speech of this section. Except for the spelling of surnames, dialect in the interviews has been faithfully transcribed. Great care has been taken to try to represent the pronunciation, but to have represented literally the elision and emphasis would have made the text unintelligible to the average non-scientific reader. Therefore the elision has been moderated and the emphasis left to the reader. Diacritical marks have not been used because it was thought it would give the text too foreign an appearance, and apostrophes commonly used in dialect have been discarded for simplification. Many variations in pronunciation occur even in a small area; younger members of a community speak differently from older, the better educated differently from the less well educated. Excitement or emotion often throws the speaker back into a type of speech which ordinarily he no longer uses. Almost universally *uh* is substituted for *er* and *d* for *th*, though there are more exceptions to the latter than to the former. An *h* is nearly always substituted for an *r* following a vowel and *ah* is substituted for the terminal *re;* thus *here* becomes *heah*. This latter spelling is as near as can be achieved, and though the diphthong is present the *e* is very short. In certain cases persons have learned to pronounce certain words correctly while other words of the same type will still be spoken in dialect. *Mother* is a common example of this. The *th* in this word has often been deliberately learned

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128 194 195 though the final *er* will still be pronounced *uh*. Initial syllables are often pronounced differently from the same syllable occurring in the middle of a sentence. The pronoun *I* at the beginning of a sentence is almost always pronounced correctly, whereas *I* in the middle of the sentence is usually pronounced *uh*. Thus the same word often varies according to its importance and the need of the speaker for emphasis, and so on, *ad infinitum*. Some of the above-mentioned points may not seem worthy of mention to the student familiar with white speech of the same section. But because the white speech has many similarities of pronunciation, it does not make the recorded speech of these studies any less of a dialect nor any less of a variation from standard speech.

128 African parallels will be found in the appendix. These have been grouped according to subjects and the subjects arranged alphabetically and numbered consecutively. Text reference numbers (Arabic) refer to the appendix numbers where pertinent parallels may be found. Where an appendix number is followed by a letter, the parallel under this heading is especially noteworthy. Though European parallels could be cited for many of the cultural patterns, the citations in the appendix have been limited to African material both because the European material is better known and because the African parallels suggest interesting lines of investigation.

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This continuous exchange and renewal of folk customs intensified the folk urge fostered by isolation. This naturally delayed the intrusion of white culture and the Negro kept intact much of his racial heritage. For these reasons the student of Negro folklore turns to coastal Georgia for source material. Here he may still find living Negroes who remember parents or grandparents born in Africa.

Much research has been done and many books written on the folk customs and beliefs of the Negro. In this section, however, where the Negro has been kept more or less racially distinct the field is so rich that intensified study in special areas still reveals valuable information.

In an effort to present an accurate pictorial account of this type of Georgia coastal Negro these field reports have been compiled. They endeavor to present the customs and beliefs of what is left of a generation closely linked to its native African origin. Some of this generation of Negroes were slaves; many of them are the children of former slaves and the grandchildren of native Africans. Their customs and tales are their own special heritage. Knowledge of them must be recorded now while this generation lives or they will lose much of their accuracy and value.

No attempt has been made to give a cross section of the Negro scene as a whole, but only that part of it which would seem to indicate the survival elements. This limitation of the field necessarily concentrates this study on the more primitive aspects of a comparatively small group of persons and ignores a large section of the Negro population whose interest and point of view are vastly different. Effort has been made to base the studies on source material provided by the Negro himself. Footnotes which give African parallels have been used. Though an African parallel does not confine the custom or belief to Africa alone, it provides interesting comparative material for the reader.

Visiting the communities was an interesting experience.

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Acknowledgments

122 A major portion of this book would consist of names if all the people who contributed in some way were included. Before all others, however, I gratefully acknowledge the people of the Sea Islands, because without their willing cooperation there would have been no book. I am especially indebted to two residents of Wadmalaw Island, Aneatha Brisbane (Miss Myma) and Ida Morris-Hamilton (Miss Ida Mae) for accepting me into their homes and providing me with ties to well-respected island names. Since the islanders know and understand well the meaning of sharing as an inherent part of the extended family, I express my gratitude to the following families rather than to individuals: the Browns, the Williamses, the Pickneys, the Linens, the Jenkinses, the Middletons, the McClouds, the McClures, the Buggs, the Mitchells, the Seabrooks, the Orees, the Smalls, the McDermotts, the Pyatts, the Washingtons, the Mickells, the Gibbses, the Riverses, the Macks, the Ropers, the Higginses, the Simmonses, the Dents, the Fraziers, the Murrays, the Quimbys, the Cummingses, and the Campbells.

000 I wish to thank the Nigerian people from the Igbo, Yoruba, and Ibebio cultures for their tolerance and patience in helping me to learn their languages and folklore traditions. I offer special thanks to the Ihejetoh family, the Udondek family, the Onunkwo family, and the Konyeers family.

• 128 Several friends, colleagues, and professors at the University of Michigan offered assistance and provided guidance for this book in its embryonic stages. These include Rosie Morant Douglas, who first told me about the Sea Island people while sitting in the undergraduate library one afternoon in 1972, and Faith Mitchell, who accompanied me on my first trip to the island communities. I wish also to thank Richard Bailey, J. C. Catford, Peter Fodale, Lemuel Johnson, Patrick Bynoe,

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Preface

178 (131) The black inhabitants of the Sea Islands, located off the coast of Georgia and South Carolina, have provided researchers with a reservoir of distinctively African and African-American cultural roots. Their unique society has been developed, nurtured, and maintained by the geographical isolation of the islands, the social and economic independence of the islanders, and the marginal contact with residents outside the Sea Island area. These factors have created and fostered an environment within which the inhabitants—West African slaves, ex-slaves, and their free ancestors—have been able to reinforce vigorous traditions characteristic of their culture, and to perpetuate communities with concentrations of African influences paralleled by no other black areas in the United States. Remnants of these African traditions were passed on to the islanders through narrative tales, religious practices, burial ceremonies, language patterns, and other practices, only some of which have been recorded by linguists, sociologists, anthropologists, and folklorists.

177 Today changes are being brought to the islands, and the Sea Island culture is declining under the resulting social pressures. On the one hand, outsiders, particularly white Americans, Arabs, and other foreigners, are moving to the area and in some instances commercializing entire islands. On the other hand, the building of bridges has brought about easier access to many of the islands and better educational facilities and job opportunities for their inhabitants. As would be expected, such forces are motivating a break in cultural traditions, an upheaval of social patterns, and a general disruption of the old norms, all of which are now in some danger of becoming lost.

• 128 This book is structured to provide a comprehensive view of the Sea Island culture and literature and of the Gullah (or, as it is called in Georgia, Geechee) language. Chapter 1 is devoted primarily to a survey of the area and its people. I judge it important to provide a full

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128 description of the geography, demography, and economic and social history of the region, because only in an environment like that of the Sea Islands could the inhabitants have maintained the level of continuity with African culture that has been recorded (and that surely remains to be recorded).

Chapters 2 and 3 constitute the greatest portion of the book. Chapter 2 provides detailed descriptions of the settings in which the tales are told and the telling techniques employed, and sketches of some of the most prolific storytellers. Chapter 3 is composed of Gullah prayers and tales, with translations of some African counterparts. This section may be particularly pleasing to those interested in seeing just how closely the Gullah tales compare with African narratives.

Chapter 4 provides a description of those linguistic features in contemporary Gullah speech which have African parallels. This chapter may be especially useful in helping to delineate features characteristic of Gullah and not characteristic of inland African-American speech or of other speech varieties in the United States. In addition to providing insights into the status of present-day Gullah on the Sea Islands, Chapter 4 is germane to the interested reader's understanding of certain linguistic features of the Gullah speech samples.

121 Most often we get only a retrospective look at a culture after many of its unique features have been lost. One of the great attractions of the Sea Islands for students of the humanities and social sciences is that the expected slow pace of change in remote areas will permit a look into the culture as it undergoes transition. As outside forces erode the traditional social structure of the islanders, every attempt should be made to maintain a record of changing language, attitudes, and oral traditions. And as I hope to show in this book, researchers who come with the right preparation and receptive minds can make their studies as rewarding for the islanders as for the investigators.

121 114 In my own case, I decided that given the wide field of untapped resources in the Sea Island area, it would be wise to undertake my investigation in collaboration with a colleague from a field other than linguistics. Behavioral data, whether dealing with folklore, language, cognition, or their interrelationships, have in the past tended to be rigidly segmented and compartmentalized into folklore, linguistics, psychology, sociology, or anthropology. The needs for interdisciplinary approaches to the study of human behavior, however, and for ex-

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128 Louise Rounds Ball, and Kathy Eiseley, who gave me the stimulation and encouragement that I needed to begin the project in 1973.

I have also benefited from the knowledge and insights of several linguists, anthropologists, historians, folklorists, and friends from other universities. Outstanding among these is my mentor and friend Professor Charles Joyner, a native of the coastal area and the author of *Down by the Riverside*. He believed, even when I felt that I no longer believed, that the manuscript would become a book. I also acknowledge others who were kind enough to listen or read drafts of the manuscript, honest enough to provide principled criticism, and most of all committed enough to write out lengthy suggestions on how to improve it. I offer special thanks to Ralph Fasold, Fred Cassidy, Dell Hymes, Orlando Taylor, Ian Hancock, Irma Cunningham, Salikoko Mufwene, Michael Montgomery, Lettie Molter, John Rickford, William Stewart, and Molefe Asante.

I warmly acknowledge my long-time friend from the Sea Island area, Dr. G. Franklin Edwards of Howard University, who in the words of the islanders often had to "brace my back against the wall of Zion, and plant my feet deep down in the soil" in order that I might finish this book. Other friends and colleagues who provided willing but "tired" ears include Claudia Tate, Edward Hawthorne, Arnold Wallace, Charles Sessoms, Michael Miller, Lettie Austin, Marshall Banks, Vernon Jones, Karen Michell, Carolyn Stroman, and my typist, Sally McCoy.

I wish to extend special thanks also to Malcolm Call, Ellen Harris, Dariel Mayer, Sandy Hudson, and Douglas Armato at the University of Georgia Press. I am particularly indebted to Janis Bolster, not only because she is a painstakingly proficient editor but because she was "gifted" with the ability to make the most obscure concepts flow easily into prose.

122 The research for this book was supported by several sources; without their assistance, I would never have been able to complete this study. At the University of Michigan I received a Horace H. Rackham Research Award and a summer grant from the Center for African and Afro-American Studies. At Howard University my work received support from the Faculty Research Program in the Social Sciences, the Humanities and Education Program of the Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs; and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Faculty Grants Program. I was also awarded a WHMM Television De-

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so that it will participate in the event by responding to certain cues given by the teller.

The teller's call and the audience's reply are often simultaneous. Clearly they must be distinguished on the printed page, and separating them formally as is done here helps clarify the degree to which the speaker and the audience rely on back-and-forth interplay to develop and perpetuate a rhythmic flow once the tale begins.[24]

The following notational conventions have been used to provide more information concerning the context in which these tales were told. Double exclamation marks indicate loudness, and triple exclamation marks, extreme loudness. Parentheses enclose indications of nonverbal communicative behaviors, such as long pauses, laughter, eye or hand movements, or meditations. Dashes indicate interruptions or pauses in thought or speech. Ellipsis dots show omissions. A series of hyphens indicates phonological lengthening, as in O-o-o-kay! Italics are used for responses and for emphasis on words or phrases. Square brackets enclose translations or interpolations of words or letters.

These tales were told around a fire site at a local store just after nightfall on Wadmalaw Island. Approximately twenty or thirty people gathered, eating crabs and roasting hot dogs while they waited for the storytelling session to begin. The order here does not necessarily reflect the order in which tales were told. Further, some tellers were better performers than others and thus were asked to tell several tales before the session ended.

"The Man and the Skita [Mosquito]" is an extension of the Clever Slave Motif J1114.01 (more commonly known in the United States as an "old marster and John" tale) and Motif H961, Task Performed by Cleverness. It falls vaguely within Tale Type 920 III, Impossible Task.[25] In this tale the philosophical outlook of Ber Rabbit prevails: even when faced with almost insurmountable odds, one can survive not through physical strength but through one's own wit and intelligence.

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538 In the animal tales from both continents, the central characters
171 nearly always function as though they were human beings. That they are lower animals personifying humans is secondary to the intent and purpose of the tales. The animals' roles are seldom comic in the style of American cartoon characters like Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, or Bugs Bunny. Tales of Nnabe and Ber Rabbit are designed to represent mature individuals reacting in adult situations of daily life. In tale after tale, the listeners are confronted with multifaceted personalities which they sometimes like, sometimes dislike. There are differences: Nnabe is far more vicious in his interactions, for example, than Ber Rabbit. In many tales he is consciously cruel and tyrannical. Ber Rabbit, on the other hand, is seldom depicted as self-seeking. He is known as a trickster, or one "smart too much," but he generally resorts to chicanery only to preserve his life.

While many favorite African and African-American tales involve animals acting like human beings, many tales are told of mermaids (*mama water* or *daddy water*), great hunters, chiefs, and the common person in struggles against the forces of nature. A frequent theme among the Igbo, Ibebio, and Yoruba involves crimes against the family: a member of one's family kills another member, and the ill deed is revealed by the murdered person's bones. Similar tales are also told on the Sea Islands. Here "The Three Pear[s], or the Singing Bones" is compared with "The Flower, or the Singing Bones." Tales of this type are customarily accompanied by lyrics, which the audience usually participates in singing. These tales involve the audience fully and are usually welcome diversions from the traditional trickster exploits.

The Gullah and Igbo tales that follow demonstrate the similarities in plot and character that have been mentioned. Most of the African informants had little or no familiarity with the English language. Each tale was told in a familiar setting in the speaker's native tongue and then translated into English with the aid of a bilingual consultant from
538 the village. The Gullah tales have been edited to eliminate stuttering,
• 128 false starts, and constructions which are not confusing in speech but which, because they are distractions, would most likely make the text more difficult to understand, and ultimately would cause the similarities between the plots to seem more obscure. Features such as the
[193] formulaic or introductory verb *say* and the preverbal markers *de*, *ben*, *bina*, and *don* have been retained to aid in perpetuating the original flavor of the tales. (See Appendix A for a transcription of one story into

A, [For Appendix 1, see Category 226, pp. 151-155--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 116]

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538 128 an older Gullah spelling and syntax.) As I have emphasized, however, no transcription can fully capture the aura of the nonverbal interplay which is a dynamic aspect of any oral tradition.

538 171 1. "Ber Rabbit and the Lord" and its Igbo parallel, "Nnabe and Chineke [The Tortoise and the Lord]," are classified as Type 2 tales, which are concerned with how the various animals received their physical characteristics. "Ber Rabbit and the Lord" is classified as Motif A2231.1, Animal Characteristics: Punishment for Discourteous Answer to God. "Nnabe and Chineke" is Motif A2231.1.4, Discourteous Answer: Tortoise's Shell. These are two of the few tales where Ber Rabbit and Nnabe are actually punished for their mischievous deeds. It is important to note, however, that their punishment is meted out not by mortals like themselves but by a supreme being.

539 ## Ber Rabbit and the Lord

Mr. Jonas Mickell
Wadmalaw Island, South Carolina

Once upon a time Ber Rabbit went de the Lord for get more knowledge, more wisdom. And the Lord tell Ber Rabbit, "All right! I want you de bring anything white de me. Anything white."

Rabbit went out in the field, and he went out meet [happened to meet] Ber Partridge there. [Ber Rabbit] had a bag, and [he] tell Ber Partridge: "I betcha all you, all couldn't full this bag [I bet you aren't big enough to fill up this bag]."

Partridge say, "How you mean?"

[Ber Rabbit told Ber Partridge], "Run in here, see if you can full this bag."

All the partridge full up [spread his wings], run in, full the bag. Ber Rabbit put that on he shoulder and carry em de the Lord. [The Lord said], "All right!" [But the Lord] gone send em back. Ber Rabbit, he send em back.

"Well, I want you now, Ber Rabbit, de bring me a

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Appendix 2

Buh Rabbit en' de Lawd

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[178

What follows is the tale "Ber Rabbit and the Lord" from Chapter 3, reconstructed in the Gullah of a century ago. A comparison of the two versions will show how the language has changed in the interim.

•128 I am grateful to Mrs. Virginia Mixon Geraty, who suggested and prepared the transcription, for her time, willingness, and patience.

539 One time Buh Rabbit gone tuh de Lawd fuh git mo' ecknowledge, mo' wisdum. En' de Lawd tell Buh Rabbit, "Awright! Uh wan' you fuh fetch me ennyt'ing wuh w'ite. Ennyt'ing w'ite."

Rabbit gone een de fiel', en' 'e gone en' meet Buh Paa'tridge dey dey, 'e hab uh bag, en' 'e tell Buh Paa'tridge: "Uh betchuh all ub you, all ub you ent able fuh full'up dishyuh bag."

Paa'tridge say, "How you mean?"

Run een de bag en' see kin you full'um up."

De paa'tridge 'pread 'e wing, run een de bag en' full'um up. Buh Rabbit pit'um 'cross 'e shoulduh en' cya'um tuh de Lawd. "Awright!" 'E gone sen'um back. Buh Rabbit sen' Buh Paa'tridge back.

"Well, now, Buh Rabbit, Uh wan' you fuh fetch me—Uh wan' you fuh fetch me—uh rattlesnake!" Dainjus!!! 'E pit Buh Rabbit weh 'e dainjus, fuh true!

Buh Rabbit tell'um, "Awright!"

Buh Rabbit gone een de fiel' en' fin' uh rattlesnake, en' 'e hab uh cane en' 'e tell Buh Rattlesnake: "Buh Snake, oonuh ent—oonuh ent long ez dis cane." Buh Rattlesnake run 'long 'side de cane.

Buh Rabbit say, "No! Uh yent mean fuh do'um so. Uh wan' oonuh fuh run een'um."

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Appendix 3

Phonetic Text: The Soul and the Spirit

The following text is included in this study primarily to show the language in context. It manifests many phonological, syntactical, and morphological constructions characteristic of creole languages.[1] The English version following the transcription obscures many of the creole patterns; consequently, a word-for-word translation accompanies each line of phonetic script to illustrate underlying creole constituents such as the complementizer [fə], the introductory verb [sie], the future marker [go], and many other constructions.

This passage reveals specific segmental phonological phenomena, for example, vowel epenthesis, consonant reduction, assimilation, and various phones corresponding to, or substituted for, such English phones as /β/ for /w/; /ɸ/ for /f/; /t/ for initial /ð/ and /ɵ/; and /ç/ and /ʃ/ for /s/. No effort has been made to eliminate false starts, deviant words, or stuttering. It is extremely difficult to hear certain sequences because of interference of birds and other outdoor noises on the tape. In such cases ellipsis dots indicate that a short passage, usually no more than a few words, has been deleted because of unintelligibility.

Terminal junctures and pauses have been indicated by a slash (/). Creaky voice is indicated by a wavy underline (~~~).

Hyphens join two or more words run together in the transcription.

English translations of the preverbal markers and the third-person pronominal forms often misrepresent the creole utterance. The following notations are accordingly used to symbolize these forms:

(3 ♂ n) third-person masculine nominative
(3 ♀ n) third-person feminine nominative

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193 (3 Ø n) third-person neuter nominative
539 (3 ♂ o) third-person masculine objective
539 (3 ♀ o) third-person feminine objective
•128 (3 Ø o) third-person neuter objective

(PrC)	present continuative	/də/
(PaC)	past	/bɪnə/
(T)	tense indicator	/bɪn/
(L)	locative	/də/

539 di soəl ɛn di speɪt

775 1. lɪsn mi gʊd nɔu / βɛn ju daɪ nɪs wɵl / jusi / dɪ dɪ dɪ so·əl
19 *Listen me good now: when you die in-this world, you see, the, the, the soul*

2. əβə män go fiom dʊ di kɪŋdəm ə gɔd / bɔt juə speɪt
of-a man go home to the Kingdom of God, but your spirit

3. stɪls iə ɔn ɔʔt / ɛn ɪɸ ju βədɪ dɛβəl ɪn ɒl juə diez /
still's here on earth. And if you was-the devil in all your days,

4. juə speɪt /ätə ju died / joə speɪt kə du di siem tiŋ / juə speɪt
your spirit, after you dead, your spirit can do the same thing, your spirit.

5. juə soəl ɔ̈p dɛ / bɔt juə speɪt dɛ ɹɛʔ dɔŋ də iə βɪd
Your soul up there, but your spirit (L) right down (L) here with

6. di bɒrɪ / ɛn däs də wɔn gɔ gɔ du də ɸɛk tu jʊ / jʊ si nɔ nɔ
the body. And that's the one gone, gone do the effect to you. You see now now

7. das das βɒɪ ɒɪ sie dɪs nɔ / ə lɒs ä pipʊ̃
that's that's why I say this now. A lot of people

8. dõn biliɸ / sie sie sieiz no guos / iz guos dɛə /bɔt nɔ sensz
don't believe. Say say say-is no ghost. Is ghost there. But now since

9. di ʔʊ̈rəmobil n tiŋ kɔm / n gɪt dɪ hɒɪβie nɔ / jusidiz diz tiŋ
the automobile and thing come and get the highway now, you-see-these, these thing

10. käinə tɛk tu wʊd / ät mɛmbə wɔnäɪt / βi βi bɪn ɔut
kind-of take to wood. I member one-night we, we (T) out

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Chapter 3

1. The prayers are often presented in a chanting style difficult for non-Gullah speakers to understand. Thus I gratefully acknowledge the aid of Mrs. Ida Morris-Hamilton of Wadmalaw Island for helping with transcriptions and translations.

2. See Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy;* Harold Carter, *The Prayer Tradition of Black People* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1976); William H. Pipes, *Say Amen Brother* (New York: William Federal Press, 1951); and Jones-Jackson, "Oral Tradition."

3. The prayers are normally accompanied by music. If no musical accompanist is available, the prayer giver and the congregation create their own musical accompaniment with handclaps, shuffles, and moans.

4. See Carter, *Prayer Tradition;* Pipes, *Say Amen Brother;* and Molefe Asante, *African and African-American Communication Continuities* (New York: Council of International Studies, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975).

5. This prayer was delivered impromptu by Mr. James Brown, who is known for his ability to deliver stirring words with absolutely no prior preparation. I am grateful to him and Rev. Renty Pinckney for permitting me to record this prayer during church services. I am likewise grateful to Rev. Chester R. Jones for his comments on my analysis of the prayer. I owe special thanks to Rev. Alfred Owens of Greater Mt. Calvary Holy Church, Washington, D.C., for his invaluable assistance in providing references for the many biblical allusions in the prayer. All references are to the King James Version.

6. Ps. 51, David's cry for repentance and mercy, may have been a model for this passage.

7. Matt. 8:20; Luke 9:58.

8. Rom. 6:12, 8:11; 1 Cor. 15:53–54; John 15:1.

9. Matt. 4:3; 1 Thess. 3:5.

10. John 1:32.

11. Phil. 3:13.

12. Ps. 1:14.

13. John 12:2, 25:4.

14. 2 Cor. 7:5.

15. The speaker adapts his prayer to fit the occasion by including the purpose for which he is offering his prayer in strategic places. Many of the following passages are based on the Sermon on the Mount and the Beatitudes; the speaker brings them into his prayer as responses (e.g., "Want my spirit meek and mild").

16. The minister is often considered the assembler and leader of the community as well as of the church. Thus, like Moses, he is viewed as a deliverer of the people, one chosen by God to be the inheritor of the silver trumpet. See Num. 10:1–10.

17. This is a rural expression of the idea from Matt. 7:24–29 that whosoever builds his house on solid rock shall not be moved by the storms of life.

18. Jerusalem is not only the holy biblical city but, literally, the name of the AME church in which this prayer was delivered.

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000 19. 1 Cor. 15:53–54.

782 20. "Ain't gonna study war no more" is a reference from an old Negro spiritual. The concept itself comes from several references to war in the Bible, such as Ps. 46:0, Isa. 2:4, and Mic. 4:3.

000 21. Rom. 14:10–12; 2 Cor. 5:10; Matt. 16–27.

22. Job 3:17.

• 128 23. I am again indebted to Mrs. Ida Morris-Hamilton, who assisted in transcribing this sermon from a recording made during the church service.

538 24. For further discussion of the call-and-response technique see Grace Sims Holt,
113 "Stylin' outta the Black Pulpit," in *Rappin' and Stylin' Out*, ed. Thomas Kochman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 189–204.

538 25. The Gullah and African tales given in this chapter are classified according to
128 the scheme set out by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson in *The Types of the Folktale*
113 (Helsinki: *Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia*, 1961). Motifs and the names and numbers assigned to tale types are from Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, 6 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955–58).

In the search for systematic methods of presenting such paralinguistic features as voice quality and nonverbal expressive phenomena, Ray L. Birdwhistell proposed a system of notation for describing certain sound phenomena, for example, an arrow pointing upward or downward to indicate various pitch ranges. He likewise developed an elaborate notational system for analyzing body motions and gestures, a system that distinguished hip, leg, ankle, shoulder, wrist, arm, and other movements (see Birdwhistell, *Kinesics and Context*). Some of these notations are quite complex, and they are not yet widely used. Here, because the language of the narratives is complex in itself for most English-speaking readers, I decided to eliminate reading handicaps by minimizing foreign symbols that would tend to interrupt the natural flow of the tales.

538 26. For example, Richard Dorson has a variant of this tale in *American Negro Folktales*, p. 114.

000 27. This observation was brought to my attention by Charles Joyner, who is a native of the South Carolina coastal area.

113 28. See Harris, *Nights with Uncle Remus;* Parsons, *Folklore of the Sea Islands;* Finnegan, *Limba Stories;* Florence M. Cronise and Henry Ward, *Cunnie Rabbit, Mr. Spider and the Other Beef* (Chicago: Afro-Am Press, 1969); and Dorson, *African Folklore*.

000 29. The precautionary measures taken here do not assure that the Igbo tales collected were not influenced by other cultures. No culture can be totally without outside influence; I tried only to decrease the likelihood of obtaining tales with non-African origins. Accordingly, I collected the tales from children and adults only in their native tongue. Although English is a second language in Nigeria, those in remote areas have little reason to use it. I also did not ask to hear any particular type of tale, nor put any restrictions on the length or number of tales told by any one person. I asked simply to hear some of their stories.

30. I am indebted to the renowned Igbo writer Obi Egbuna for his observations concerning African folktales and their implications in Igbo society. Any misrepresentations that might remain are, of course, my own.

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10. The African derivations of these words are from Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*.

11. For a critical appraisal of Turner's methodology see P. E. H. Hair, "Sierra Leone Items in the Gullah Dialect of American English," *African Language Review* 4 (1965): 79–84.

12. DeCamp, Foreword to Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, pp. vii–viii.

13. For a detailed discussion of the processes involved in language contact see Talmy Givón, "Prolegomena to Any Creology" (Department of Linguistics, University of California, Los Angeles, Mimeo, 1973).

14. According to Wolfram (personal communication), the "matrix of cruciality" refers to linguistic features that are important to control in situations where one would be expected to use a form of standard English.

15. For a fuller syntactical analysis of Gullah than follows here, see Cunningham, "Syntactic Analysis." See Jones-Jackson, "The Status of Gullah," for a full representation of creole features in context.

16. See Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, p. 225.

17. See Dietrich Westerman and M. A. Bryan, *The Languages of West Africa* London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

18. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, p. 211.

19. See Nichols, "Linguistic Change in Gullah," for a detailed discussion and historical analysis of the complementizer *for*.

20. J. L. Dillard, *Black English* (New York: Random House, 1972).

Appendix 1

1. Jackson, Slaughter, and Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource."

Appendix 3

1. For a full discussion of the phonemes in Gullah, see Jones-Jackson, "The Status of Gullah," and Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*.

Appendix 4

1. All quotations in this appendix are from the film documentary *When Roots Die*, produced by me in conjunction with WHMM TV at Howard University and the South Carolina ETV network. I owe special thanks to Charles Sessoms, who helped to write and who directed the film. Likewise, I am indebted to Henry Cauthens, director of the South Carolina ETV network, for providing a crew (Patrice Abrams, Jimmy Dinkins, and Joe Bowie) to undertake the filming in South Carolina; and to Edward Hawthorne, dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and Arnold Wallace, general manager of WHMM TV, Howard University, for providing the funds.

2. Robert Browne, founder of the National Emergency Land Fund and research scholar for the Black Economic Research Center (personal communication).

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•128 I have received encouragement and suggestions from a number of people. My colleague Ruth Bloch read two important chapters of the manuscript and offered useful suggestions for rewriting. Daniel Littlefield of Louisiana State University read and commented on my chapter on the African slave trade and shared with me his historiographical knowledge of source material. Michael Mullin of California State University, Sacramento, read an earlier draft of the manuscript and offered perceptive comments. My colleague Gary Nash referred me to important source material and read an early version of the manuscript with much care and

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128 sensitivity. Many thanks to Professor Velma Pollard of the University of the West Indies, for sharing with me her impressive knowledge of linguistic patterns in the black diaspora. Discussions with Joseph Holloway of California State University, Northridge, concerning African influences among the Gullahs were productive and stimulating. Although our opinions differ, I believe we learned from each other, and we concur in the belief that there is still much to be uncovered regarding the African impact on African-American life, thought and culture. A special note of thanks to Peter Wood of Duke University. He read two versions of the manuscript and offered his expertise on the African-Carolina experience during the colonial era. Professor Wood's penetrating insights and suggestions lead to fruitful rethinking in a number of areas.

This study began as a dissertation under the direction of Professors Daniel H. Calhoun and Daniel Crowley at the University of California, Davis, and Professor Leon F. Litwack at the University of California, Berkeley. I am particularly grateful for Professor Calhoun's advice and encouragement during my years as his student, and for his continued belief in the worthiness of this subject. Professor Crowley's anthropological input was invaluable. More significantly, whenever the vastness and controversial nature of this project seemed overwhelming, I recalled his comment to me when I first embarked on the project: "You're on to something."

114 The enthusiasm, intelligence and perception of many of my graduate students in the antebellum history and Afro-American history seminars at UCLA was inspiring. In those courses we raised probing questions about religion, culture, community and politics which I hope have made this a better volume. My right hand in the project was Jill Marie Watts. As my research assistant for three years, Ms. Watts' library detective
128 work went well beyond my expectations. For typing and word processing assistance I wish to thank Alesia Barbour, and UCLA's Central Word Processing Center, especially Nancy Rahn. While I received valuable comments, suggestions, and advice, I have also been selective in adhering to recommentations regarding the book. Thus I am fully responsible for any limitations contained herein.

000 Members of my family, as always, were a source of strength. My two children, James and Céleste Creel, never ceased to add color and zest to life. They accepted my preoccupation with unusual patience. My niece, Anita Louise Crawford, was a wonderful surrogate mother when needed,

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and she deserves my thanks and gratitude. My beloved aunt, Hattie Clark Harrison, who so much looked forward to publication of this book died this year before it went to press. Though we in her immediate and extended family miss her sorely, she is alive in us all. Her legacy of vitality, generosity, and love is a wellspring which continues to empower her "children" with fortitude.

On the professional and personal level, I owe much to Graham R. Hodges. He read the dissertation and the manuscript drafts with interest and thoughtfulness, offering ideas for improvement in my discussion of the colonial black experience and black participation in the War for Independence. Graham's impressive knowledge of these two periods as they affected blacks in the Northeast, informed my own evaluation of the Carolina situation. He was particularly helpful in alerting me to primary and secondary early American sources, from which much can be learned about black activities and the black-white counterpoint. Most of all Graham, thanks for many hours of listening, for cheerful encouragement, and for being a friend.

Finally, for my parents, words of thanks and acknowledgment in no way convey adequately how much is owed. I dedicate this book to them with love, respect, admiration, and gratitude.

[p. xvi is blank]

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List of Abbreviations

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AHR	*American Historical Review*
AMA	American Missionary Association Papers
BC	Baptist Collection, Furman University, Greenville, S. C.
CAJ	*Christian Advocate and Journal*
HSSCC	Historical Society, South Carolina Conference, Methodist Church Archives, Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C.
MMQR	*Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
SCA	*Southern Christian Advocate*
SCG	*South Carolina Gazette*
SHC	Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
SCHS	South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S. C.
SCL	South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.
SPGLL	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London Letters

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seem to reinforce the 1970s "slave community" consensus to which previously mentioned (and many unmentioned) scholars contributed so prolifically. Inherent in that consensus is the theme which on some level we all agree: among African-Americans the oppression of bondage bred resistance and active, even if it was not always open, rebellion.

The primary methodologies used in structuring this book are comparative and dialectical. A comparative model is adopted because I wish to demonstrate the relationship between African, white Protestant, and Gullah worlds. Thus in Part I the African background is discussed. Here I ask the reader's forbearance. This discussion of the African slave trade, ethnic displacement, and the significance of the African socioreligious legacy, is necessary because these relate to the entire thrust of the book and because my theory regarding ethnic origins and African influences will be controversial, yet I believe, sound in plausability.

I agree with Eugene Genovese that to some extent, "an understanding of the slaves requires some understanding of the masters and of others who shaped a complex slave society."[31] Part II, consisting of two chapters, begins my dialectic of black-white counterpoint and deals with South Carolina up to the War for Independence. One chapter is devoted to missionaries and masters. The next chapter, on the black religious experience, deals with the Great Awakening and that limited group who laid a foundation for acculturation and black-to-black spiritual interaction. Part III continues the black-white counterpoint. Chapter 5 develops concepts of black rebelliousness, and the period of the American War for Independence is crucial. It represents a time of religious liberalism on the one hand and black resistance on the other. Yet the ultimate outcome of the new "republicanism" was retrenchment of old socioeconomic alliances and forces. The black response is rebellion. Immediate white reaction is repression. But on another level white "thinking men" believed in a safer, possibly more successful method of dealing with black recalcitrance. Chapters 6 and 7 analyze and narrate the movements, primarily by Methodist laymen and Baptist planters, to convert the masses of Gullahs. These chapters also interpret Gullah responses to Christianity, slavery, and life in bondage. In Part IV the counterpoint technique is dropped. Throughout this book I attempt to present a picture of plantation life among Gullahs, as well as a view of slave religion and conversion. But Part IV is devoted fully to offering a presentation of Gullah socioreligious culture in a collective setting. Chapters 8, 9, and 10 sug-

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gest ways in which Gullahs interpreted Christianity, and how Africanity was integrated into Christianity, into attitudes toward life, death, and the supernatural. I do not argue for direct, fixed, or unchanging transmission of African religion and culture. Yet persistence of traditional beliefs, embedded in a recently created society, is not remarkable. Nor should we assume that traditional African customs and beliefs necessarily disintegrated before Christian and white cultural icons.[12] Still my aim is to demonstrate African-Gullah adaptability in their interaction with another major cultural form, and their capacity for change and meaningful continuity given the realities of new situations.

I rely heavily upon primary sources in this book, although my discussion on African culture and cosmology is an exception. Here the emphasis is on secondary material. This was necessary since I aim to fuse history and anthropology into ethnohistory. It was not always possible to obtain sources directly from the Gullahs. Yet I have tried to articulate their social history by using sources at least derived from the Gullahs. Thus, missionary reports and sketches, spirituals, folk practices and customs, diaries, church minutes, and similar types of records are used extensively. Sources which support interpretations and historical depictions of white attitudes toward religious instruction are also mainly primary. And whenever applicable and possible, I attempted to incorporate current historiographical trends into this study.

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APPENDIX A

Ethnic Origins of Carolina Slaves

This appendix explains my own tabulations for ethnic origins of Carolina slaves. A valuable source of information for studying African origins was published in four volumes by Elizabeth Donnan. Her works are based on primary sources consisting of ships' records, newspaper advertisements, records of the Royal African Company, the correspondence of Henry Laurens and other merchants, and various documents illustrating the pattern and magnitude of the international slave trade. Donnan's volume on the Southern colonies was particularly useful for examining the slave trade to Carolina because the records of that colony were so well preserved and because white Carolinians made a fetish of regional provenance where human cargo was concerned. From these data we obtain an impression of the coastal origins of many cargoes entering Charleston harbor, and it appears that Africans of the Windward Coast and Senegambia regions provided South Carolina with the majority of its forced laborers for nearly forty years.

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Table A.1 represents my calculation of the ethnic origins of slaves entering South Carolina during the middle period of the international slave trade. It was compiled from a tabulation of lists of cargoes published by Elizabeth Donnan. Table A.2 is a rough numerical calculation of slaves identifiable by African origins entering Charleston during the middle period of the trade. Since many cargoes did not indicate size, our estimate for this unknown was based upon the average number of slaves on vessels which did indicate the size of their cargo. Deliberately ex-

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TABLE A.1

Number and Percentage of Cargoes of Identifiable Origin Imported from 1749 to 1787 (Middle Period)

Coastal Region of Origin	*No. of Cargoes*	*Percentage*
Senegambia	102	32.4
Windward Coast	90	28.6
Gold Coast	54	17.2
Bight of Benin		
Bight of Biafra	25	7.9
Angola (including Gaboon and the Kongo)	35	11.1
Others: Whydah, Bance Island, Isle de Los	9	2.8
Total	315	100.0

Source: Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1935) vol. 4, passim; and *South Carolina Gazette*.

TABLE A.2

Numerical Estimate of Slaves Identifiable by Origin Imported from 1749 to 1787 (Middle Period)

	Cargoes with Numerical Count		*Cargoes without Numerical Count*			
Coastal Region of Origin	*No. of Cargoes*	*No. of Slaves*	*No. of Cargoes*	*Est. Slaves*	*Total Cargoes*	*Total Slaves (Est.)*
Senegambia	66	10,499	36	5,724	102	16,223
Windward Coast	65	11,135	25	4,275	90	15,410
Gold Coast	37	6,240	17	2,856	54	9,096
Angola	33	7,480	2	454	35	7,934
Bight of Benin						
Bight of Biafra	18	3,343	7	1,302	25	4,665
Others	7	956	2	274	9	1,230
Total	226	39,653	89	14,885	315	54,538

Source: Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents*, vol. 4, passim.

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128

cluded from tables A.1 and A.2 are those vessels which indicated only the West Indies as the source of origin. Such listings meant the slaves were purchased in the West Indies from an arriving African cargo, or that the ship had stopped in the West Indies and disposed of most of its African cargo. Cargoes listed as simply from the West Indies were usually quite small and often contained Creole New World-born slaves.

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APPENDIX E

Gullah Folkways

177 Because they occupied a position of servitude, the Gullahs had to accept
178 outwardly, points of view, customs, and beliefs to which they were exposed by the dominant society. Nevertheless, through sublety and secretiveness they were able to retain some of their previously held beliefs and practices. After slavery, the Gullahs were occasionally willing to share some of their beliefs, customs, and "superstitions" with those readily identifiable as friends, or with those who would not censure the Gullahs for their ways of thinking. Thus a wealth of information about Gullah culture was collected from various sources, but particularly by WPA
127 128 workers. The following information related to Gullah folk religion and
178 supernatural beliefs provides a mere sample of the material. Unless otherwise stated, this information on Gullah folk beliefs was taken from the WPA files at the South Carolina Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia. Although more research is needed in this area, it was nevertheless possible to trace some of these beliefs to African origins.

Folk Beliefs

775 [856] [828] Spirits show themselves to babies more often than to grown people. When babies smile or cry out in their sleep, it is because some spirit is amusing or troubling them.

[764] [789] If there is a baby in a house of death, pass the baby over the coffin. This will prevent the spirit from returning to trouble the baby.

845 791 787 People born with a caul or veil over their faces are supposed to have strange powers, to foretell the future, see spirits, etc.[a]

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000 159 891 cation and voter registration. The man who organized the Progressive Club was Esau Jenkins, who was born and raised on Johns Island and became one of the most effective grass roots leaders in the South. It was Esau who first conceived the Citizenship School Program, which the Reverend Martin Luther King's organization later administered throughout the South. The remarkable story of Esau's life and his efforts to bring progress to Johns Island is told in chapter 6. At that time it was not so clear how important the spread of the Citizenship School Program across the South was to be. A chapter has been added to trace the history of the program in the 1950s and its subsequent impact on the civil rights movement.

• [128]

Esau Jenkins died in 1972, and his wisdom and understanding, his fighting spirit, are missed by all. In December 1987, while we were interviewing people for the update to this book, Septima Clark also died. A teacher all her life, she taught on Johns Island in 1916 as a teenager. She was part of the Charleston County school system until 1956, when she was fired for belonging to the NAACP. She then went to work for the Highlander Folk School and became supervisor of the literacy program in the sea islands. At the time of her death, she was recognized nationally as an educator and civil rights leader.

159 875 [668]

159 In 1988 many of the families who told their stories in the early 1960s still live on Johns Island. Most of the older people have passed on, of course, and children have grown and married and have children of their own. The younger generation has received more education, sometimes quite sophisticated skills. Gerald Mackey is a good example. At the end of chapter 6 he can be seen as a teenager riding in the back of a truck on the way to work in the fields. Today he is an evaluator of teachers for the school system and a candidate for his doctorate. Esau's children became teachers, community workers, a lawyer, the administrator of a major health care delivery system on Johns Island.

Bill Saunders told us in 1965 that had he been born white, he might have accomplished something. He nevertheless has gone on to accomplish a

[p. xiii-A)

4: Caravan & Caravan B,Z-5 (1959-1988) 1989
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•128 THIS BOOK IS BASED on tape-recorded material. In putting it together we tried to use the strongest photograph to illustrate each text; the person in an accompanying photograph is not necessarily the person speaking. Please see the list of photograph credits at the back of the book for specific information.

(197) (113) We have deliberately refrained from caricaturing the pronunciation of Gullah dialect by distorted spellings. There are a number of scholarly studies of Gullah now available in addition to Lorenzo Turner's classic 1949 book *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*.

533 128 The songs are sung without instrumental accompaniment. In most of the religious songs, complex hand and foot rhythms are added as the spirit mounts. This particular style is called "shouting." Songs are usually sung with an informal leader in a call and response pattern. The transcriptions are inevitable simplifications of what is sung, for to capture the subtle shadings and minute variations of pitch and rhythm would result in an almost unreadable score. Because the style is highly improvisational, the melody, the words, and the order of the verses vary with every performance and from one singer to another.

533 216 We strongly urge the reader to listen to these songs on two Folkways records of Johns Island music that are available: *Been in the Storm So Long: Spirituals and Shouts and Children's Games* and *Moving Star Hall Singers and Alan Lomax: Sea Island Folk Festival*. A new compilation of the best of these recordings is available on Folkways album 40031, *Been in the Storm So Long: Spirituals and Shouts, Folktales and Children's Songs*. An interesting comparison of the particular style in the Johns Island area with that of coastal singers further south can be made by listening to the albums of songs from the Georgia sea islands and from nearby McIntosh County.

(P XVi-B)

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• 128 WE WOULD LIKE TO THANK the following people for help and support in the publication of this book: Alan Lomax for consistent and continuing encouragement over the years; Myles Horton, who with his late wife, Zilphia, laid the groundwork on Johns Island for the citizenship school program and in the early 1960s encouraged us to make our home there; Ethel Raim for sensitive and skillful transcription of the music; Roger Phenix who helped us record and organize the material for the original book; all of the photographers represented here who contributed their photographs to the project; David Richer, a masterful photographer in Knoxville who has made the prints to be used for publication; Myrtle Glascoe-Greene and the Avery Institute for finding a home in the lowcountry for the original tapes and photographs; all the people on Johns and the surrounding islands who spent time with us helping to shape this new edition.

(P-XVii-A)

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Today Mrs. Russell talks about not being able to visit her old crabbing spot; she is kept from her homeplace by guards and gates. Ms. Elaine Jenkins straddles the old and new ways trying to show people how not to lose their land. Bill Saunders talks about development and change in a way that is based on his dreams for the indigenous people of the island community; the new developers, on the contrary, want to keep the people off the new vacation spots unless they are employed there, usually in menial jobs.

Today's Sea Island Comprehensive Health Care Corporation grew out of the Rural Mission, Inc., and the Progressive Club, begun by Esau Jenkins and nurtured by those who struggled with him to bring about change. Their efforts gave much to the local community and to the larger movement. This was the home of the first citizenship education class; "Keep Your Eyes on the Prize, Hold On" passed from Alice Wine to Guy Carawan to the Nashville sit-ins to movement communities throughout the South.

To walk through this book again is to walk through time. The first edition of the book introduced us to the old songs and the Moving Star Hall and its worship tradition. It described the islanders' yearnings and planning for change. The Carawans were beginning to share the music and culture of this community through folk festivals and programs throughout the nation. In this first book one feels the storm of change in the sound of a unique nineteenth-century black American voice.

And now we have this new edition of the book loaded with some of the same voices speaking through yet another decade; and we see and hear the voices and concerns of the children who walk and seek to extend their roads. We see the outsiders with intentions that have nothing to do with the survival of the communities they found as they moved into the islands. The questions and fears are for the youth and their future. Their voices are heard only as whispers in the minds and hearts of their parents. The questions are: Will they continue? And how and where and what of this rich legacy will they harvest to pass on?

(P.236-B)

Bernice Johnson Reagon

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122 During my field work in coastal South Carolina, many
123 people gave concrete help of different kinds. Through the courtesy of William S. Young, Thaddeus Thompson, Edgar Caddell, and Peggy Walker, I was able to spend valuable time with the school children of rural Georgetown County. In the island community, Prince and Rebecca Washington introduced me to the community and spent hours of treasured conversation with me. My mother, Mildred Mitchell Causey, and her sister, Annie Laurie Bonnette, opened their homes to me whenever needed; I benefited in many unforeseen ways from their years of teaching in the public schools of the state. Another-
128 native of the Waccamaw region, historian and folklorist
129 Charles W. Joyner, was a source of crucial information and

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128 insight at several points. My friend and colleague at
127 Winthrop College, Shirley Brice Heath, shared with me the joy of discovery and the pain of facing the unknown; her anthropological field work in up-country black communities
128 was an invaluable source of comparative data. My human and intellectual debt to Nolan Pliny Jacobson, my former professor at Winthrop, is greater than either of us knows.

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197 age, sex, and social group reveals relationships between language use and social factors which are difficult to perceive from an implicational ranking of linguistic features alone. Both models have been found inadequate in that neither allows for both the individual variation and the communal variation which the data indicate exists in the Gullah-speaking community.

121
128 1.3 Overview

Chapter 2 will describe the speech community studied in coastal South Carolina, while Chapter 3 will discuss the field methods used in this research. In Chapter 4, a detailed analysis of three linguistic variables now undergoing change in Gullah will be presented. These variables are the pre-infinitival complementizer fE, a static-locative preposition (to), and the third person singular pronouns se and En. Chapter 5 discusses the social factors influencing change in these grammatical categories and concludes with an evaluation of the competing models for linguistic variation.

128 In the Gullah examples cited in the discussion which follows, the orthography is that which is conventional for written English except for the following symbol:

E = the sound of the vowel in bus
and the sound of the unstressed
vowel in Cuba

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CHAPTER 2

THE SPEECH COMMUNITY

2.0 Overview

•128 Section 2.1 describes the culture which developed in coastal South Carolina during the period of early European and West African settlement. The history of Georgetown County is summarized briefly in section 2.2, with a fuller discussion devoted to a closed community of West African heritage within this county in section 2.3.

2.1 Culture of Coastal South Carolina

175 Among the malaria-infested marshlands of coastal South Carolina, a culture developed between the early and mid-1700's, to which the roots of a distinctive Southern heritage might be traced. As the major port of entry of African slaves imported first from Barbados, and then directly from West Africa, Charleston and its environs provided both a center for acculturation into the ways of the European landowners, as well as a constantly renewed source of contact with West African cultural traditions. Acculturation of the European settlers into the ways of the Africans was inevitable as the population of the Carolina territory became predominately West African in origin by 1720, a dominance lasting

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CHAPTER 3

FIELD WORK PROCEDURES

3.0 Overview

121 123 Having been raised in the white community of an adjacent county in South Carolina, I recognized early that establishing rapport with the black community in rural Georgetown County on the level conducive to good research would be one of the most difficult parts of the field work for the present study. Accordingly, I sought the advice of others who had done field work in rural South Carolina and in non-European communities in the southwest. Through J. 121 Herman Blake and his colleague, Triloki Pandey, of the University of California at Santa Cruz, I became aware of the concept of action anthropology, first developed in the work of anthropologists from the University of Chicago on the Fox Project in southern Iowa during the forties and fifties. 121 Since this concept has influenced greatly the procedures 128 followed in my field work on Gullah, I will discuss in section 3.1 the major issues addressed by action anthropology and their possible extension to action linguists. Section 3.2 will discuss the field worker's functions within the community, and section 3.3 will describe the collection of data.

CHAPTER 4

LINGUISTIC VARIABLES

4.0 Overview

121 193 The present chapter deals with three grammatical categories chosen to represent the changes now underway in Gullah. The syntactic functions of the three categories--complementizer, preposition, and pronoun--are clearly distinct from each other in this creole. The morphemes used for the creole and standard forms within each category are distinct phonetically from each other, for the most part. Older Gullah texts indicate that variation has been present within these categories for at least the past century; for the complementizer, change to standard forms is almost complete for most speakers in the area studied. For each category, analysis of the systematic linguistic changes in progress will be presented. Section 4.1 examines the pre-infinitival complementizer, section 4.2 a static locative preposition, and section 4.3 the third person singular pronouns. Section 4.4 summarizes these findings.

121 193 ### 4.1 Complementizer

A number of recent papers have presented evidence that many languages have morphemes which function both as

121 193 case markers and as complementizers (Ferguson, 1970; Moravcsik, 1972a and 1972b; Gorbet, 1973; R. Clark, 1973; Hinds, 1973; Joseph, 1975). Washabaugh (1975) has presented evidence for the existence of similar morphemes in a number of

121 creoles. In order to adequately explore these relationships

128 between the complementizer and other syntactic categories in

193 Gullah, section 4.1.1 will describe the uses of the morpheme fɛ for the grammatical categories of preposition, complementizer, and conditional marker. Section 4.1.2 will present an analysis of the functions of the pre-infinitival complementizer in Gullah, along with a discussion of the direction of change presently shown by this grammatical category. Section 4.1.3 will summarize historical developments in this category for English and will point to possible universal relationships which obtain between complementizers and case markers in creoles and in fully expanded languages.

193 4.1.1 Uses of fɛ in Gullah

The particle fɛ, phonetically [fᵊ], is used as a complementizer in Gullah in pre-infinitival position. This morpheme is also used as a preposition and as a conditional marker on the verb. Examples of the three syntactic uses of the particle fɛ are given below:

PREPOSITION
Benefactive: (1) but yet I reckon they doing that fɛ the children wey go to school (S2)

'but yet I reckon they're doing that for the children who go to school'

000 bilong, formerly used as a possessive. As complementizer, bilong introduces purpose and result clauses, and seems to be restricted to non-finite verbs. Another particle long is locative and is used as a more general complementizer in Tok Pisin. Data on relational terms in other creoles is scant as yet, but a search for similar relationships between case markers and complementizers may confirm the existence of important universal processes associated with these grammatical categories.

A recent historical analysis by Lightfoot (1976) of for as used before infinitives in earlier stages of English suggests that this particle remained a preposition throughout the history of standard English, never becoming a true
193 complementizer. Whether or not this claim proves valid for standard English, it should be clear from the preceding discussion that fE in Gullah has been a true complementizer and retains this function longest for the introduction of clauses expressing purposive notions, notions which are associated also with the benefactive preposition fE and the almost extinct conditional marker fE.

4.2 Static-Locative Preposition to

• 128
193 The present section will deal with locative to, which can express both notions of 'movement toward' and 'position at' in Gullah. Its static-locative uses for the notion 'position at' will be examined for utterances such as:

Can we stay to the table?

•128 193 Variation between to and at for static location is now evident for most speakers, although texts of Turner (1949) and Cunningham (1970) provide only two examples of at used for this notion, one of which expresses a temporal rather than a spatial idea. Section 4.2.1 will discuss the functions of locative to in Gullah, 4.2.2 will summarize the history of to and at as locative prepositions in English and for some of the English-related creoles of the Caribbean, while the final section will present an analysis of the changes underway at present for this grammatical category in Gullah.

193 4.2.1 Functions of Locative to in Gullah

Locative relations are probably universally designated across languages, although by different grammatical categories in specific languages. Catford (1968) has discussed the use of different grammatical markers in a variety of languages for indicating spatial and temporal relationships between objects. In Finnish, local case suffixes attached to the noun mark such relations. In Karbardian, a language of the Caucasus, prefixes are attached to the verb following the noun phrase. For French, prepositions before the noun phrase are used, as in English. Locative distinctions which can be made by such markers include non-dimensional notions of location, source, goal, and path; static and dynamic positional notions; and dimensional notions such as surface, interior and exterior. For standard English, a

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4.3 Third Person Singular Pronouns

This section focuses on the personal pronouns of Gullah. The pronouns for third person often differ from those for first and second person across languages, in distinctions made for gender, place, and levels of politeness. The pronouns used for third person singular in Gullah are the subject of the present discussion. Usage for this grammatical category is not entirely stable in other varieties of English, especially in appositional and conjunctive structures where a pronoun marked for objective or accusative case often appears in subject position. Considerable variation is exhibited in Gullah at present in all forms used for third person singular. Only usage of single pronouns is included in the present study; examples of double pronouns such as he and I have been eliminated from consideration because they would require a more detailed consideration of their use in standard English than can be provided here.

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Evidence from other English-related pidgins and creoles will be presented in section 4.3.1 and from historical stages and dialectal varieties of English in section 4.3.2 to show that the variation exhibited by the third person singular pronouns of Gullah is systematic and characteristic of a creole, not an historical dialect of English. Section 4.3.3 will discuss pronominal variation in Gullah.

193

The forms for the personal pronouns in Gullah found

19 creolized speech. Even though it is a difficult form to distinguish phonetically and the unaspirated form occurs in other modern dialects of English, ee as used for masculine subject was included in the Gullah analysis because I believed from the beginning that this was the basic subject form in all genders, and I wanted to see how long it persisted relative to other forms. As a masculine subject form, ee is counted in positions where it receives some sentence stress and would not be unaspirated in standard English.[8] The distribution given in Table 3 indicates that this form persists very late for all subject forms, regardless of gender. For the speaker whose speech is most creolized (Speaker 2), some uses of standard it occur in object position while none occur for subject. Seven speakers who use predominately standard it in object position retain uses of ee for neuter subject. English, like other Indo-European languages, makes no distinction in the nominative and accusative cases for neuter pronouns. It is significant that Gullah has such a distinction early and keeps the distinction between ee for neuter subject and Em for neuter object until relatively late. This difference between Gullah and English is additional evidence for the creole origin of Gullah. The different order in which the pronouns of Gullah and those of Guyanese change toward the standard lends sup-

---

[8] I am indebted to Richard Janda and to Shirley Hicks for checking my phonetic analysis of these forms.

A, [For Table 3, see Category 193, p. 100--Analyst]

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL FACTORS

5.0 Overview

121 197 The present chapter deals with the social factors of sex, age, and mobility which appear to influence the activation of linguistic change for individual speakers. The variables of sex and age were chosen prior to the field work done for the study, on the basis that these social factors have been shown repeatedly to influence language usage. Mobility, i.e., living or working inside or outside the community, was chosen as a third variable after some time in the field. Observation of children's language use in the [123] classroom and on the playground and conversations about their travels and visits with relatives indicated that the range of language at their command was closely related to the extent of their geographic mobility. Interviews with adult [124] speakers subsequently elicited information about their geographic mobility, after it became apparent that its effect on language use could be even greater than that of economic • 128 status for the population being studied. Section 5.1 will discuss the relationship between sex of speaker and language use; 5.2 will consider the factor of age; and 5.3 will discuss

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128 the mobility patterns of the two sexes in the mainland community and on the river island. Section 5.4 will discuss the relationship between these social factors and the linguistic variation described in Chapter 4. A final section will provide a conclusion and brief summary of the findings of this study.

121 128 5.1 Sex of Speaker and Language Use

Because the existence of sex differences in language use has been one of the most thoroughly documented findings of sociolinguistic studies over the past two decades, a brief summary of these findings will be presented in 5.1.1. Data from the present study, which differ in important respects from data of earlier studies, will be presented in 5.1.2.

121 5.1.1 Previous Studies

When the present study was begun, it was expected that women would use more standard forms than men of comparable age and socio-economic status. For the island community, this generally proved to be the case. In the mainland community, however, women in the oldest age group used significantly more creole and nonstandard variants for the three grammatical categories analyzed than did men in their group. Previous studies have generally found that females use more standard forms in their speech than men of their age and social class. Fischer's study (1958) in a New England

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•128 My chairman Dr. Ernest D. Washington really made this research possible. His guidance and patience ultimately underlie the completion of this dissertation. I valued the expertise and input of the other committee members, Drs. Johnnetta B. Cole and Gloria I. Joseph.

To the Sea Island families I offer my sincere indebtness. While I can not cite all the families who should be named, I must mention these families: Burns, Smith, Brown, Magwood, Gadsen, Blake, Seabrooke, Choice, and Washington.

It is the Godly wisdom and strength of my grandparents Martin and Carrie Burns that I relied on so heavily in conceptualizing the spirit of this effort. My mother Marie B. Smith, sister Theodosia, and brothers Theodore and William provided the reflective references I needed in completing this task.

114 I am indebted to my wife Debra, and children Samantha and Nestor whom lived through the ordeals of this dissertation with me. Without the support of Ruth, Craig and Corey Washington this effort would have been immensely more difficult.

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•128 Finally to Don and Dona Ojeda, and to their children Nestor, Mario, and Maria I am eternally indebted for the comparative references they provide.

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124 Consequently, this procedure was relaxed to some degree during the actual interviews.

123 Had not the researcher been a native of the Sea Islands this research effort would have been immensely more difficult. In part this difficulty could be attributable to the workings of other researchers in this area. In particular, many of the islanders voiced deep concern over the book written by Carowan Ain't we Got a Right to the Tree of Life. These islanders felt this work was by no means an accurate representation of their life style or beliefs. But because of the native heritage of the researcher many families agreed to participate in hopes of the writer being more able to accurately present the ethos of the Sea Island people.

• 128 DATA ANALYSIS

Statistical inference was the method of data analysis. The chi-square and the Fisher Exact Test were used to compute significance at either the .05, .01 or .001 level. The following analysis of relationship between the variables island, generation, and sex were conducted:

I Island (1,2,3,4,5) by questions one thru thirteen.

II Generation (1,2,3) by questions one thru thirteen.

III Sex (1,2) by questions one thru thirteen.

IV Island by generation by questions one thru thirteen.

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V Island by sex by questions one thru thirteen.

NULL HYPOTHESIS

I a) H_0: $M_1 = M_2$
Respondents across the five islands will report no significant difference in the use of physical punishment.

b) Alternate hypothesis: H_0: $M_1 \neq M_2$

II a) H_0: $M_1 = M_2$
There will be nonsignificant differences in the use of physical punishment across generations.

b) Alternate hypothesis: H_0: $M_1 \neq M_2$

III a) H_0: $M_1 = M_2$
Males will report no more use of physical punishment than females.

b) Alternate hypothesis: H_3: $M_1 \neq M_2$

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DISCUSSION OF HYPOTHESES

The research is not clear on how discipline is applied in extended family situations. In households in which grandparents are present there is more opportunity for value transmission. One result may be less variation in discipline behavior across generations. The extended family structure no doubt adds to the chance for value conflicts to occur. However, the high cultural status accorded Sea Island elders may tend to negate the chance for the occurrence of value conflicts. It is also likely that younger Sea Islanders whose values conflict with their parents may

CHAPTER IV
RESULTS

861 The results reported here are on the use of physical discipline. In this review it must be emphasized that use of physical discipline is by no means exclusive; but rather is but one type of interaction in the overall discipline pattern. Verbal discipline interactions are very much a dimension of the broader pattern. To regard the use of physical discipline as the only or even as the dominant interaction to the neglect of other is a serious error in judgement.

•128 The data organization and analysis represented in Tables 4, 5, and 6, are the one by one organization (1-1-1-1-1) where each one represents one Island.

128 861 VARIABLE OF ISLAND

A Chi Square was not computed on question one, because all respondents reported use of physical and verbal discipline. Question one was, "Waak kin ob punishment di ya use?" A .02 level of significance was found between the variable of island and question two, "How oben beetn far dis?" The responses were: everytime, often, sometime. The Chi Square value was found to be 40.40 with 8 degrees of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

TABLE 4

(1-1-1-1-1) ISLAND

Variables	Chi Square	df	Critical Value	Significance Level
Island by Question 2	18.69	8	18.17	.02 *
" " " 3	40.40	16	39.29	.001
" " " 4	19.39	20	31.41 (.05)	NS
" " " 5	5.13	8	15.51 (.05)	NS
" " " 6	10.22	16	26.30 (.05)	NS *
" " " 7	34.84	20	31.41	.05
" " " 8	19.66	16	26.30 (.05)	NS *
" " " 9	42.40	24	40.27	.02
" " " 10	9.35	12	21.03 (.05)	NS
" " " 11	11.08	12	21.03 (.05)	NS
" " " 12	4.49	8	15.51 (.05)	NS
" " " 13	27.60	28	41.34 (.05)	NS

*Null test question

TABLE 5

(1-1-1-1-1) GENERATION

Variables	Chi Square	df	Critical Value	Significance Level
Generation by Question 2	15.36	4	13.28	.01 *
" " " 3	17.74	8	15.51	.05
" " " 4	114.74	10	29.59	.001
" " " 5	61.78	4	18.46	.001
" " " 6	2.96	4	9.49 (.05)	NS *
" " " 7	3.89	3	11.07 (.05)	NS
" " " 8	26.73	8	26.12	.001 *
" " " 9	11.25	12	21.03 (.05)	NS
" " " 10	11.10	3	9.84	.02
" " " 11	34.80	6	22.46	.001
" " " 12	44.82	4	18.46	.001
" " " 13	44.38	14	36.12	.001

*Null test question

TABLE 6

(1-1-1-1-1) SEX

Variables	Chi Square	df	Critical Value	Significance Level
Sex by Question 2	2.11	2	5.99	NS *
" " " 3	41.26	4	18.46	.001
" " " 4	11.28	3	11.07	.05
" " " 5	2.73	2	5.99 (.05)	NS
" " " 6	8.80	4	9.49 (.05)	NS *
" " " 7	15.28	3	13.09	.01
" " " 8	15.42	4	13.28	.01 *
" " " 9	3.76	6	12.59 (.05)	NS
" " " 10	.07	3	7.82 (.05)	NS
" " " 11	3.04	3	7.82 (.05)	NS
" " " 12	3.37	2	5.99 (.05)	NS
" " " 13	13.57	7	14.07 (.05)	NS

*Null test question

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freedom (df). The critical value was 39.29. Forty-one percent of the Yonges Island, and 37.5% of Edisto respondents said that they were beaten for a social behavior overytime. On the near islands, only 4.2% of the respondents indicated the overytime response. Consistently 66.7% of the James and 83.3% of the Johns Island respondents selected the often response. The responses were somewhat consistent across the islands in the percents saying they were beaten sometime. From James to Edisto, these percents were: 29.2, 8.3, 16.7, 29.2.

The relationship between the variable of island and question six, "How ole ya wen ya git d last beatn?" was nonsignificant at the .05 rejection level. The responses were: Fourteen to Sixteen, Seventeen to Nineteen, Twenty to Twenty-two, Twenty-three to Twenty-five and Twenty-five to Thirty. The Chi Square value was 10.22 at 16 df, the critical value was 26.30, the highest percent (25%) of respondents who indicated that their last beating were between 14-16 years were residents of Edisto and Wadmalaw. Twelve point five percent of the other islanders agreed. Over 57% of the islanders said beatings ended between 17-23 years. Six point three percent of the James Islanders said beatings were continued into the 25-27 range.

The relationship between the variable of island and question eight, "Wen ya wuz gitten d mas beatn, how oben?"

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was nonsignificant at the .05 rejection level. The Chi Square value was 19.66 while the critical value at 16 df was 26.30; the responses were: Six or less times per year, one time a month, three times a month, once weekly, twice weekly. None of the James Islanders said physical discipline was metered out as infrequently as six times a year. In contrast 16.7% of the Johns, Yonges and Edisto Islanders said beatings were this infrequently. Four point two percent of the James, and 8.3% of the Wadmalaw respondents said beatings during their peak periods were as frequent as twice weekly. None of the respondents on the other islands said beatings were this frequent. Over 68% of all the islanders indicated that the frequency of beating was between one to three times a month.

TEST OF THE ISLAND NULL HYPOTHESIS (H_0: $M_1 = M_2$)

Respondents across the five islands will report no significant difference in the use of physical punishment.

1. Question two, "How oben beatn fer dis?" was used to test H_0: $M_1 = M_2$. This question is a measure of the relationship between the frequency with which use of physical punishment followed asocial behavior and island affiliation. The Chi Square value was 18.69, while the critical value at 8 df was 18.17. This relationship was significant at the .02 level. With a .02

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significance level, H_0: $M_1 = M_2$ was rejected in favor of the alternative H_1: $M_1 \neq M_2$.

2. Two tangential tests of this H_0: $M_1 = M_2$ were conducted. Questions six and eight were used for this purpose. Question six, "Hev ole ya wan ya git d last beetn?" is in essence a measure of the relationship between the duration of use of physical punishment and island affiliation. As such this relationship was considered as a tangential measure of the Null Hypothesis. The Chi Square value for question six and island affiliation was 10.22, while the critical value at 16 df was 26.30 (.05). In this case the chance hypothesis was uphelded.

3. Question eight, "Wen ya waz gitten de mas beetn, how eben?" was a measure of the frequency of beetns during peak disciplinary stages and island affiliation. While this relationship was a more direct measure of the Null Hypothesis than question six it was still a tangential test. The Chi Square value was 19.66, while the critical value at .05 with 16 df was 26.30. The Null Hypothesis was upheld. The two tangential tests supported retention of the Null Hypothesis. However because of the directness of the first test and the determined significance power (02), the Null Hypothesis was rejected in favor of the alternative H_1: $M_1 \neq M_2$.

4. Although the most direct test of the relationship between

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island affiliation and use of physical punishment was significant at the .02 level, the alternative hypothesis was upheld with some reservation. This caution is warranted because the majority of the island relationships were nonsignificant. For example parents across the five islands indicated that both sexes received the same punishment (question 5). Similarly, there were nonsignificant relationships between island affiliation and: (a) the boundaries of asocial behavior (question 9), (b) use of both beating and scolding in discipline (question 11), and (c) the generations across the islands indicated similar problems in rearing today's children in the traditional mold (question 10).

VARIABLE GENERATION

Significance was determined at the .01 level for the relationship between variable of generations and question two, "How oben beetn fer dis?" The responses were _everytime_, _often_, _sometime_. Chi Square was computed at 13.36 with 4 df. The critical value was 13.28. Forty-six point four percent of the children indicated they were punished _often_ and _sometime_. While 14.3% of the parents indicated punishment was _sometime_ and 60.7% said _often_. Conversely, 28.6% of the grandparents and 25% of the parents said they were punished _everytime_. Only 7.1% of the children indicated they were punished _everytime_.

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•128 861 At the .05 rejection level the relationship between the variable of generation and question six, "How ole ya wen ya git d last beatn?" was significant. The responses were: Fourteen to Sixteen, Seventeen to Nineteen, Twenty to Twenty-two, Twenty-three to Twenty-five, Twenty-seven to Thirty, with 4 df the critical value was 9.49, the Chi Square value was 2.96. Twenty-five percent of the grandparents and 10.7% of the parents said beatings were terminated between 14-16 years. Fifty percent of the parents and 39.2% of the grandparents said beatings end between 17-19 years. Thirty-five point seven percent of the grandparents and 39.4% of the parents indicated beatings were continued after the youngster reached 20 years.

The relationship between question eight, "Wen ya was gitten d mas beatn, how oben?" and the variable of generations was significant at the .001 level. The responses 861 were: six or less a year, one a month, three a month, one a week and two a week. Twenty-eight point six percent of the grandparents said they were beaten six or less times per year, while only 3.6% of the parents shared this frequency pattern. Sixty point seven percent of the grandparents, 46.4% of the parents and 39.3% of the children shared the one beating per month pattern. Seventeen point nine percent of the children and parents reported beatings as frequently as one per week. Three point six percent

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rejected in favor of the alternative H_2: $M_1 = M_2 \neq M_3$.

3. Significant generational differences in discipline behavior and attitudes were clearly noted. As a matter of fact nine of the generational relationships were significant. Five of these relationships were significant at the .001 level. It is extremely clear that the generations differ in application of and in attitudes about discipline. There were however, nonsignificant differences across the generations relative to: (a) the age at which children are no longer beaten (question 6), (b) the causes of the last beating (question 7), and (c) on the boundaries of asocial behavior (question 9).

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VARIABLE OF SEX

The relationship between the variable of sex and question two, "How oben beetn fer dis?" was nonsignificant at the .05 rejection level. The responses were: <u>everytime</u>, <u>often</u>, <u>sometime</u>. The critical value was 5.99 at 2 df the Chi Square was 2.11. Sixteen point two of the males and 32.4% of the females said the <u>everytime</u> reaction ratio was used by their parents. Fifty-four percent of the males and 59.6% of the females thought physical discipline often followed asocial acts. More males (29.7%) selected the <u>sometime</u> reaction ratio than did the females (77%).

The relationship between the variable of sex and

•128 861 question six, "How ole ya wen ya git d last beetn?" was nonsignificant. The responses were: Fourteen to Sixteen, Seventeen to Nineteen, Twenty to Twenty-two, Twenty-three to Twenty-five, and Twenty-seven to Thirty. The Chi Square value was 8.80. The critical value at 4 df was 9.49. Twenty-seven point three percent of the females and 4.3% of the males said they received their last beating between 14-16 years respectively. Thirty-nine point one percent and 48% of the males and females said their last beatings were between 17-19. Twenty-four point three percent of the females said they were beaten after age 20. This compares to 66.5% if the males who were beaten after age 20.

The relationship between the variable of sex and question eight, "Wen ya was gitten d mas beetn, how oben?" was significant at .01. The responses were: Six or less a year, one a month, three a month, one a week and two a week. Only 5.4 percent of both sexes said beatings during peak periods were as frequent as twice weekly. Seventeen percent of the females said they received six or less beatings per year, which compares to a 2.7 percent for males. Thirty-five point one percent of the males and 59.6 percent of the females said beatings were no more frequent than once a month. Seventeen percent of the females and 35.1 percent of the males reported beatings as frequent as three times per month. Weekly beatings were reported by 21.6% of the

128 males and 9.4% of the females.
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TEST OF THE SEX NULL HYPOTHESIS (H_o: $M_1 = M_2$)

128 Males will report no more use of physical punishment
86 than females.

1. This was a measure of the relationship between the variable of sex and use of physical punishment. The rationale which applied to the use of questions two and eight in the above two cases also applies here. Question five, "Bo n Gal beet d sami?" was also used in this test. In this case question five is the most direct measure of the relationship between sex and use of physical punishment. Under question five the relationship was nonsignificant at .05. The critical value with 2 df was 5.99, while the Chi Square value was 2.73. The relationship was also nonsignificant under question two, the Chi Square value was 2.11 with 2 df the critical value was 5.99 at the .05 level of significance.
2. The relationship was significant under question eight. The critical value with 5 df was 13.28, while the Chi Square value was 15.42. The level of significance was .01. Because the direct and one of the tangential test were nonsignificant, the H_o: $M_1 = M_2$ was upheld.
3. Only four of the relationships between the sex of the respondent and discipline practices and beliefs were

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significant. The broad inference is that male and female Sea Islanders are closely agreed in their discipline attitudes and behaviors. They were not agreed however relative to the question of the causes of punishment.

4. This relationship was significant at the .001 level. Males tend to indicate that fighting was the primary cause of punishment, while females indicated chores as the prime cause. The sexes were not agreed (.05) about the age at which children are too old for physical punishment. However the dominant tendency was for the sexes to be agreed. Enlight of the eight relationship in which there were nonsignificant differences between the sexes, the null or chance hypothesis was retained.

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SPEAKERS	FORMS									
	-s	-ed	be	dɔz	-ing	dɔŋ	bine	bin	də	STEM
12			6	4	10				4	26
7	1		*10	1	4	2	1	3		10
13			3		5	2	2	5		10
4			*6	1	3		3	6	8	30
14			2		3	2		3		12
15					2			2	2	6
16					6		2	3		21
17			1	2	5	2		2		15
18			2					1		3
19					1		3	1		6
20			*5		3	3		3	1	9
21							2	2	8	12
10			1	1	3		3	3	4	26
6	1		*9		2	6		7	5	25
22			1	1	6		4	3	2	24
24			4	1		4	1		3	12
8			5				2	5	7	22
5			1		3	4	2	4	8	21
3			5		1		5	9	7	23
23						2	4	3	4	35
2			*8		5		1	5	10	30
Totals	2	0	69	11	62	27	35	70	71	378

* - Includes Non-Standard features

-s = third person singular verb
-ed = past tense morpheme for all verbs except *be*
-ing = verbal, adjectival and nominal form
be = all forms of verb to *be* excluding invariant *be*

TABLE 2.1
OUTPUT OF TWENTY-ONE SPEAKERS

[128] The numerals in the columns represent the number of times each speaker used the given forms over a period of time. For example, within a limited time span, speaker number 2 used thirty bare stem verbs, the pre-verbal marker /dɔ/ ten times, and /bɪn/ five times. He used some form of the English verb to *be* eight times, but included in these times are at least four occurrences of *was* and /bɪn/ uttered in conjunction as in *I was bin there*, or used in a non-standard construction such as *I was come out the house* 'I came out of the house.'

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SPEAKERS	FORMS									
	-s	-ed	be	dɔz	-ing	dɔŋ	bin ə	bin	də	STEM
12			*6	4	10				4	26
7	1		*10	1	4	2	1	3		10
13			3		5	2	2	5		10
14			2		3	2		3		12
17			1	2	5	2		2		15
18			2					1		3
20			*5		3	3		3	1	9
Totals	1	0	29	7	30	11	3	17	5	85

* - Includes Non-Standard features

-s = third person singular verb
-ed = past tense morpheme for all verbs except *be*
-*ing* = verbal, adjectival and nominal form
be = all forms of verb *to be* excluding invariant *be*

TABLE 2.3
PRE-MESOLECTAL SPEAKERS

there is little data to indicate movement in the verbal suffix *-s* category. There are only two tokens for the whole group and each of these tokens is an example of faulty concord produced by a husband and wife. The other nineteen speakers adhere to the Creole pattern where there is no subject-verb concord at all.

• 128 193 Linguistic changes in other categories are obscured in the distribution. To normalize the findings and to give greater accountability to the data, Table 2.1 is divided in order to separate those speakers who show greater familiarity with English from those speakers who show greater retentions from the Creole. Of the twenty-one (115) consultants, fourteen reveal features more characteristic of the basilect, and these fourteen are represented in Table

193

	FORMS									
	-s	-ed	bɛ	dɔz	-ing	dɔŋ	bɪnɛ	bɪn	dɛ	STEM
Basilectal	2	0	60	6	48	24	48	79	102	440
Pre-mesolectal	3	0	87	21	90	33	9	51	15	225

TABLE 2.4
PROPORTIONATE OUTPUT OF TWENTY-ONE SPEAKERS

Values obtained by extrapolation of data in Tables 2.2 and 2.3.

•128
193
[115]

2.2. Though the division is not clearly defined, the remaining seven speakers are considered pre-mesolectal because their speech patterns indicate greater movement from the preverbs /dɛ/, /bɪn/, bɪnɛ/ and /dɔŋ/. Equal useage of both English and Creole markers, suggesting a mesolectal speaker, was not apparent in the sample. The data from Tables 2.1 through 2.3 are summarized in Table 2.4. Here, the proportionate useage and frequency of occurrence of basilectal and pre-mesolectal forms in the total population are shown. For example, in proportion to the total population, the speakers in Table 2.2 use /bɪnɛ/ five times more frequently than those in Table 2.3. These data were obtained by extrapolation. The specific pattern of movement and direction of change in individual categories can only be revealed by discussing particular variants.

2.1. The Verb Stem

The numerals in the verb stem column represent the total number of times an uninflected verb is used by a

128 a speaker. The difference in that number and the figures
193 in the preverbal and postverbal columns would reveal the frequency with which the verb appears in the absence of a marker. Cases where the stem count does not exceed the cumulative categorical count are cases where one or more English or Creole forms appear in the absence of a stem verb.

Table 2.1 shows a significant number of verb stems used by all consultants. Plausible reasons for the use of verb stems in such great frequency are that they express both tense and aspect, occur with all pre-verbal markers, and occur independently in nominal constructions. For
193 example, the following constructions were obtained by asking the consultant to produce semantic equivalents of: *I shell peas daily, I am shelling them now, I shelled them yesterday, I have been shelling them all day, I have finished shelling them, I had finished shelling them a long time ago.*

ɑɪ ʃɛlɛm	'I shell them' (tenseless)	(1)
ɑɪ də ʃɛlɛm	'I am shelling them'	
ɑɪ bɪn ʃɛlɛm	'I shelled them'	
ɑɪ bɪnə ʃɛlɛm	'I have been shelling them'	
ɑɪ dən ʃɛlɛm	'I have shelled them'	
ɑɪ bɪndən ʃɛlɛm	'I had shelled them some time ago'	

193 The fact that Creole verb stems have not been replaced
177 by standard English inflections indicates that it is more natural to retain an invariant verb stem than to acquire a new rule for a different system of marking. Consequently,

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121 193 pronouns were tested because sex reference is generally marked in English by these forms.

The corpus included twenty speakers selected from the Island, ranging in age from ten to ninety-six years. A quantitative survey was taken of the pronominal distribution for each speaker.[7] Nine were selected on the basis of their willingness to participate in the study and on the range of pronouns used. These nine consultants are among the ones who assisted in the verb study as well.

Though the concern of this chapter is third person singular pronouns, Table 3.1 is presented to show the distribution for a range of pronominal possibilities in Gullah.

193 (115) All of the following variants are used by the nine consultants, though all are seldom used by the same consultant:

GULLAH THIRD PERSON SINGULAR CASE PRONOUN VARIANTS

Nominative	*Variants*	
masculine	ɪm i hi	'he'
feminine	ɪm i hi ʃi	'she'
neuter	ɪm i ɪt	'it'
Objective		
masculine	ɔm i hɪm	'him'
feminine	ɔm i ʃi hɑr	'her'
neuter	ɔm i ɪt	'it'
Possessive		
masculine	ɪm i ɪz hɪz	'his'
feminine	ɪm i ʃi hɑr	'her'

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 show the distribution and percentage of occurrence of each variant. Nichols' study [128] on pronominal variation in Gullah, undertaken on a neigh-

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		FIRST PERSON		SECOND PERSON		THIRD PERSON	
		S	P	S	P	S	P
NOMINATIVE		ɔɪ / mi *(I / me)*	ʃi *(we)*	uno / ju *(you)*	jɔl *(y'all)* uno / ju *(you)*	M F N } i *(he)*	dɛm *(them)*
OBJECTIVE		mi *(me)*				M F N } im *(him)*	
POSSESSIVE			-uon *(own)* -sɛf *(self)*	ju / -uon *(you)* *(own)* / -sɛf *(self)*	-uon *(own)* -sɛf *(self)*	M F N } i-uon	dɛm *(them)* -uon *(own)* -sɛf *(own)*

The pronouns are described phonetically because Gullah speakers use forms which do not have English counterparts. Some forms were selected from among others because of their frequency of occurrence. For example, /una/ marking second person singular and plural has parallels in Igbo and Jamaican Creole (see Turner 1949 and Bailey 1966). /i/ and /im/ are general markers for third person nominative and objective cases. The practice of not distinguishing gender is paralleled in Igbo, GÃ, and Yoruba (Turner 1949).

TABLE 3.1
PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN GULLAH

(128) boring island in Georgetown County, revealed similar results for third person pronouns, though I altered her phonetic symbols to conform with my system of marking:

	Nominative			*Possessive*			
masculine	i	hi	ɪt	*masculine*	i	hi	hɪm hɪz
feminine	i	hi	hɛz ʃi	*feminine*	i	hi	ʃi hɪz hɛz
neuter	i	hi	ɪt	*neuter*	i		
Objective							
masculine	ɔm	ɪt	hɪm				
feminine	ɔm	ʃi	hɛz				
neuter	ɔm	i	ɪt				

(Nichols 1976:84)

193 i it em 'He hit it' (7)

Variant forms and their frequency of occurrence offer a clue to the stages of pronominal acquisition in Gullah. Following the model that Bickerton outlined for Guyanese (128) Creole, I divided each stage of development into three groups consisting of forms representing, in each case,

1) masculine, feminine, and neuter subject /
2) masculine and feminine possessive /
3) masculine, feminine, neuter objects,

respectively. The data for third person singular pronouns suggest on the whole that the language is decreolizing but not as rapidly as some have predicted. There is a 193 progression from the system first noted by Turner (1949: 197 227):

im im im / im im / em em em

While each speaker displays variation in the choice of pronouns, a compilation of the MOST dominant forms reveals that the consultants in this study maintain a genderless pronominal system:

i i i / i i / em em em

A similar study of linguistic change in Gullah was undertaken recently quite independent of my own. The study reveals identical findings:

> On the basis of both distribution across categories and frequency of occurrence, the two basic creole forms for Gullah third person pronouns of singular number are here identified as oo for both nominative and possessive cases and em for objective case. (Nichols 1976:101)

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194 /z/ The voiced alveolar fricative is a reflex of English /z/: [hɔz] 'house', [fɹiz] 'freeze'.

4.3. The Texts

• 128 539 The following texts are included in this study primarily to show the language in context. The selections offer a range of speech styles and topics which manifest many phonological, syntactical, and morphological constructions characteristic of Creole languages. The English version accompanying each transcription obscures many of the Creole patterns. Consequently, an attempt is made to present a word-for-word translation which corresponds with each line of phonetic script. This procedure is more [193] amenable for illustrating underlying Creole constituents such as the complementizer /fo/, the introductory verb /sie/, the future marker /go/ and many constructions other than those specified in this study.

[194] The selected passages reveal specific segmental phonological phenomena such as vowel epenthesis, consonant reduction, assimilation, and various phones corresponding to, or substituted for English phones such as /b/ and /w/; /f/ and /s/; /t/ for initial /ð/ and /θ/; and /o/ and /ɹ/ for /ɔ/. No effort has been made to eliminate false starts, [126] deviant words, or stuttering. Occasionally, it has been extremely difficult to hear certain sequences because of

128 539 126 outside interferences in some tapes made with a group or outside in open fields where birds and other natural noises interfered with the clarity of the recording. In such cases the notation (...) is used to indicate that a shorter passage, usually no more than a few words, has been deleted because of unintelligibility.

128 Terminal junctures and pauses have been indicated by a single bar: /

Creaky voice is indicated by a wavy underline: ~

English translations of the preverbal markers and the third person pronominal forms often misrepresent the Creole utterance. The following notations are used to symbolize these forms:

(3 ɗn)	third person masculine nominative	
(3 ʔn)	" " feminine "	
(3 ɸn)	" " neuter "	
(3 ɗp)	" " masculine possessive	
(3 ʔp)	" " feminine "	
(3 ɗp)	" " masculine objective	
(3 ʔo)	" " feminine "	
(3 ɸo)	" " neuter "	
(PrC)	Present continuative	/da/
(PAC)	Past "	/bɪnɔ/
(T)	Tense indicator	/bɪn/
(C)	Completive	/dɔŋ/
(E)	Existential	/dɔ/
(Eq)	Equative	/da/
(L)	Locative	/dɔ/

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S 121 193 regarded BASILECT as that speech variety which is farthest from standard (#10, the acrolect). MESOLECT has been used to refer to that variety falling approximately midway (#5). All intermediate varieties may be recognized by the prefixes *pre-* or *post-*. These terms, however, should be understood to represent gradations of a speech continuum with one grade merging into the other in a manner similar to a color spectrum. They are not to be regarded as separate entities (see Bailey 1974, DeCamp 1968, Bickerton 1975). Cunningham (1970:67) says the past progressive results from a combination of *been* + *da* → /bɪnə/. It is S [128] written /bɪnə/ in this study. The slash marks (/ /) are used to represent broad phonetic rather than strictly phonemic transcription.

S 193 3. The *-ing* morphemes appear in the basilect, but generally in relation to /bɪn/ + VERB + *ing* as the progressive aspect marker.

A 121 193 4. For opposing arguments see Krapp (1924), McDavid and McDavid (1951). For arguments for a creole origin see Stewart (1967), Dillard (1972), Rickford (1974), and Bickerton (1970).

A 193 5. Black dialect consultants 25, 26 and 27 assure me that the *-s* suffix is used consistently to mark all persons and numbers by some speakers.

S 193 6. For more detailed discussion, see Cunningham 1970.

19 speakers other than those consulted for the pronominal count. Similarly, *he own* and *she own* are often heard and were recorded by Turner (1949) and Cunningham (1970).

193 11. The neuter possessive pronouns are excluded from
128 this analysis because they occurred too infrequently in the data. Nichols (1976) also notes the infrequency with which they appeared in her study.

19 12. Hancock's word list supplies most of the means for comparison of words in the Atlantic creoles unless specified otherwise. (Hancock 1970:7-72).

194 13. The selection of a rounded or unrounded variant of /ɔ/ has not yet been associated with factors of style, sex, age or other variables.

539 14. *Hag* has an unusual meaning for the Islanders.
776 It can mean a person, man or woman, dead or alive. For
775 this narrative, it is used to refer to a haunted house—a house inhabited by spirits or one living person with unusual powers.

115 15. This consultant's speech exemplifies the system
193 of rule changes discussed earlier. He consistently uses
539 the English past tense marker along with the Creole *was bin*. The fact that *was* is FOLLOWED by *bin* is an indication that the Creole form is the self-correction and that the speaker relies more heavily on the Creole form to make himself understood.

8: Smith Q-4,5 (no date) 1926
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Acknowledgments

122
128 In the twenty-five years of research represented in the collection of slave songs, from which the comparatively few examples in this book have been culled, aid has been given me that words can never repay. Without the help of its many friends, this music of the Georgia Sea Islands could not have been preserved. Two of its admirers gave generous support in the four frightening years following 1930. One provided the funds needed to continue the work when the chastened Negroes would do for a quarter what they will not do today for a dollar; the other contributed her time, thought and general assistance.

114
115 I wish that the names of all who have shared in this work could be given, but over a period of years I have become indebted to so many associates that it is inadvisable to mention more than those whose coöperation has produced far-reaching results.

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Parsons of Lakeville, Connecticut, and Wassaw Island, and the late Augustus Oemler of Savannah and St. Catherine's Island, gave me in February, 1909, my first opportunity to hear the singing of primitive slave songs on the coast of Georgia.

In later years the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Jones, of Sea Island, furnished an opportunity to hear similar songs on Sapelo Island.

The friendly interest of the late Mrs. Clifton of The Ridge, McIntosh County, made me acquainted with the "ring-shout," which is so rarely seen, even by Southerners, that few realize "shouting" is a religious dance of African origin, and not a loud cry.

The Misses Dent, of Hofwyl Plantation, on the mainland in Glynn County, generously shared their knowledge of the songs that descendants of their family's slaves have been encouraged to preserve.

In Camden County, Mr. Chacey Kuehn, of Satilla Pines and New York City, gave valuable help in locating the best singers in the neighborhood of Tompkins, Burnt Fort, and Jerusalem.

The late Howard E. Coffin never lost an opportunity to share with others his delight in the slave songs. The applause of the cosmopolitan audiences he assembled at

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An Explanation

114 Salem County, New Jersey, where they found sanctuary among the Friends.[4] One of the stations of the underground railroad was located in our community, and the consideration shown the runaway and manumitted slaves caused them to settle there in such numbers that by 1840 they needed, and built, a large two-story church, and, after emancipation, still another. In my childhood they so greatly outnumbered the white voters that we had a colored overseer of the roads. At that time there was no lack of spontaneous music and laughter among them. However, in the late eighties, when a railroad was put through their village, the sophisticated Philadelphia Negroes were enabled to show the country cousins that they were hopelessly out-of-date. Then it was that the dull but stylish hymns of the white man supplanted those of the old régime, and standardized behaviour became the rule.

114 533 I did not hear the slave songs again until I visited the coast of Georgia in 1909. As we all know, opportunity rarely knocks more than once, and this time I took steps to insure that the songs should not escape me. Herein, I believe, rests my right to know something about them.

The Negroes frankly say that it was a good thing I arrived on St. Simon's when I did, and I know that if I had been there years earlier I could have saved many priceless songs which are now lost. These primitive songs—like the carvings of Africa—had been ridiculed, and the Negroes were ashamed to sing them in the presence of strangers. It took considerable brain-cudgeling to find a way to overcome their feeling that the traditional mode of expression was peculiar and old-fashioned, and to show the singers that many white people recognized its beauty.[5] As can be seen from the photographs illustrating this book, these colored people have regained faith in their birthright—and I hope it will last.

(128) Another question asked me is the reason for avoiding the term "spiritual." Today it is applied to almost any religious song in Negro dialect, regardless of its age or

[4] *From the probated will of the Quaker, John Fenwick, it is evident that in 1683 there was one "Black" too many in our settlement. He disinherited his "grand childe Elizabeth Adams totally . . . except the Lord open her eyes to see her abominable transgrescen against him, me & her poore father, by giving her true repentance & forsakeing yt Black yt hath beene the ruine of her . . ." About 12 miles south-east of Salem is a town called Othello and a few miles farther east is Gouldtown where Elizabeth and her "blackamoor" are said to have located.*

[5] *For years I tried to think of a way to rekindle interest in the old songs. In the dark of a wintry four A. M., I awakened with the full-blown answer: form a society and admit only those who could sing in the old way. The plan was nothing but good common sense—and it has worked.*

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origin, and because of its indiscriminate use I have suppressed it whenever possible.[6]

I notice that the only writers who used the term "spirituals," prior to 1909, were those who collected the bulk of their material in South Carolina. References were made to Georgia "spirituals," but Georgia was off the beaten track and, in consequence, few examples were given. In such collections as Hampton's *Cabin and Plantation Songs*, in editions up to 1909, no mention is made of "spirituals"—the songs are called "slave hymns." Nor does the name occur in Barton's *Old Plantation Hymns*, published in 1898. Our Negroes in southern New Jersey, who had come from Virginia, never used it. The first time I heard it applied to a Negro song was in 1909 on St. Catherine's—a sea island half way between the Savannah River and the Altamaha. I was told by Old Quarterman, born in Liberty County, and by Julia, born on St. Simon's Island, that they always called their own songs "spirituals," although one old grandmother called them "ant'ems" to the end of her days.

175

But why was the name adopted by the slaves of South Carolina and Georgia and not by those of the states to the northward? A bit of early history may perhaps supply the answer. When a band of Puritans who had settled at Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1630, heard of the need of work among the Indians of South Carolina, they migrated with their pastor in 1695 and settled at a spot they named Dorchester, on the Ashley River, about twenty-six miles from Charleston. Here they stayed until 1750, but the unhealthy location caused them to move on to St. John's Parish in Georgia. There, they established another Congregational church which they called Midway. At this church the Negroes sat in the gallery as was the custom in various other places.[7] Olmstead in *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (1853–54) gives an account of the concern shown by members of this Midway community for the moral enlightenment of their slaves and says, "I heard them spoken of even so far away as Virginia and Kentucky. I believe that in no other district has there been displayed as general and long-continued an interest in the spiritual well-being of the Negroes."[8]

[6] Ben Davis told me the way he knew the age of a song was by the way it made him feel. "The old ones make you feel good, the new ones don't make you feel anything." I know of no better test.

[7] Where there was no gallery they sat in the rear of the church—if a separate service was not held for them.

[8] Olmstead also tells of a religious service held by the crackers in an isolated section south of Savannah. To this day such a service can be seen and heard in conservative Negro churches. It is significant that in the North white people were never encouraged to go into a Negro

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mountain districts of America. In other lands a long evolutionary process of centuries shaped melodic idioms that sprang from the soil. In America a special thing happened, which neither scientist, anthropologist, nor music critic has ever explained. The phenomenon is not to be dismissed as either accidental or unimportant, but to be studied in all its bearings upon our progress.

This is a direction in which the author of the following pages is working with a modesty and unassuming conviction and purpose which need no praise. She is materially aided in her research by Mr. Churchill's transcribing of the songs. He has worked with a fidelity to the originals only conditioned by the limitations of our standardized scale and the inexactitude of our notation. The songs cannot be put down, exactly as they are sung, on paper. But these are the songs, as near as may be. They offer highly illuminative exposition of the various balances and amalgamations of racial elements of both African and American origin. Some of them are more than a little barbaric. In others the white influence is clear, if not predominant. In sum, these notations represent a fragment of a song literature that is unique among the expressions of mankind.

The rest is for the reader. The quality of this book, not that of a partisan, or reformer, or ex cathedra musicologist, is that of a seeker of the truth through the human contacts which lie at the basis of living art.

Olin Downes

New York City
February 16, 1942

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other denominations, I make no attempt to go into a description of usual church observances. My particular concern has been the preservation of the religious slave songs. Those of the Baptist Negroes—the most conservative sect on the Coast of Georgia—give greater evidence than the others of an African background. Coupled as they are with the most picturesque customs, they have come in for special consideration.

Although certain songs are peculiarly appropriate to such occasions as Easter and Communion, they cannot be rigidly classified according to the services which may have inspired them.[1] They were sung at any time, anywhere. The majority of them appear equally suited to church, prayer, and covenant meeting. However, the ceremonies connected with baptism, "settin'-up" with the dead, and burial mean so much to the Negro that a separate section of this Chapter is devoted to each of them. They appear to be connected with customs prevailing a century ago in the section of Africa from which the slaves were obtained. The significance attached to baptism in a river, or immersion on the outgoing tide, may tie up with the initiation rites connected with the river-worship of Dahomey; and anyone who reads what explorers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have to say about the Africans' concern with death will recognize that our Negroes display the same trait.

CHURCH, PRAYER, AND COVENANT MEETING

Patty Gardner[2] used to open the "South End" prayer meeting, held at Deacon Merchant's house, by singing the following song: As the other members joined in, they shook hands ceremoniously with their neighbors assembled in a circle.[3] The younger generation knew nothing of this custom until I had Old Quarterman come to the Cabin and "show them the way."

[1] Some may have come into existence while the slaves were at work—others were undoubtedly conceived under stress of religious emotion. In the old days a deacon, at the peak of his rhythmically chanted prayer, broke into song, in which those present joined. After a verse or two, he continued the prayer, ending his plea for mercy by singing with the others some appropriate slave hymn. It is unfortunate that this highly effective method of rousing the congregation should have lapsed in most churches. Now, the impassioned exhortation ends with a sudden drop into an ordinary conversational tone—like a dash of cold water in the face.

[2] Patty, while singing a religious song at work, would go into a trance-like state. Clarence told me he remembered seeing her moving rhythmically in a circle around her cabin, a dish towel in one hand and a discarded tin can (highly prized in those days) in the other. She tried the can over and over, totally oblivious of time or surroundings.

[3] This procedure is mentioned by Sir Charles Lyell in his Second Visit to the United States.

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PREFACE

THIS VOLUME is one of three which have grown out of a study of Negro culture on St. Helena Island, South Carolina, made under the joint auspices of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina and the Social Science Research Council. *Black Yeomanry*, by T. J. Woofter, Jr., contains a comprehensive treatment of the whole round of life on St. Helena Island today, and *A Social History of the Sea Islands*, by Guion Griffis Johnson, sets forth the historical antecedents of the culture of the sea island region.

The present volume deals with certain major aspects of the folk culture of St. Helena Island, namely, dialect, folk songs, and folklore. The section on dialect attempts to describe the Gullah dialect traits. The section on folk songs describes the status of folk songs on St. Helena Island today and then digresses at some length upon the question of the relation of American Negro music to English and American folk music. The general reader may be disappointed in such a discussion, but I feel that this is the time and place for it to be put forth. Mr. Ballanta's excellent collection entitled *St. Helena Island Spirituals* makes it unnecessary for me to publish additional spirituals. At the same time, his work, with its insistence on the African origin of the various characteristics of the Negro spirituals, makes it imperative that someone point out that there is much to be said for a white ancestry for the music of the spirituals. This I have attempted to do, the result being somewhat supplementary to Mr. Bal-

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•128 114 lanta's contributions, and at the same time something of a note of caution to those who are too quick to ascribe to Africa the peculiarities of American Negro folk music.

The final section sketches briefly the folklore of St. Helena Island, with enough illustrative material to lend concreteness to the outline. It should be read as supplementary to the larger work, *Folk-Lore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina*, by Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons, published by the American Folk-Lore Society in 1923.

It would be proper to include in the present work an account of the customs, folkways, and mores of the Islanders, but since these are ably treated in T. J. Woofter, Jr.'s, *Black Yeomanry*, I have omitted them in order to avoid duplication.

[128 127] I am indebted to numerous persons on St. Helena Island for generously contributing folk songs, folk tales, and other folk material; especially to Miss Rossa B. Cooley and Miss Grace B. House, principals of Penn School, for facilitating the collection of data in many ways; to Professor Reed Smith, of the University of South Carolina, for reading the section on dialect and making valuable suggestions; to Professor Arthur Palmer Hudson, of the University of Mississippi, for reading the entire manuscript and making critical notations, some of which I have incorporated into the work; to Professor Harold S. Dyer, Head of the Department of Music, University of North Carolina, for reading the section on folk songs; to Miss Katharine Jocher, of the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, for assistance in preparing the manuscript for the press; to

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Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., director of the study of St. Helena Island, for constant interest and advice in the work; and to Mr. George Foster Peabody and the Corporation of Yaddo for a summer at Triuna Island, Lake George, where the preparation of the manuscript was begun. 128.

G. B. J.

Chapel Hill
July, 1930

[p. x is blank]

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the use of archaic words and pronunciations; (3) the use of corrupt forms of English. There is, of course, more than this to the dialect, but these are really its distinguishing features as one gets them from the printed page. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the dialect is the way it is spoken. Its rapid succession of sounds with their sudden and extensive changes in pitch is something which has to be heard to be understood.

A careful study of Gullah reveals that there is law and order in the seeming chaos of this dialect. There is no better way to gain an understanding of the nature and development of Gullah than to take up in some detail its phonology and grammar. As the analysis proceeds it will become more and more apparent that practically every detail of the Gullah grammar and phonology is directly descended from the midland and southern English dialects.

PHONOLOGY[15]

Vowels

(*a*, *ea*, as in *art*, *heart*)

Words having *ar* or *al* plus a consonant, as in *art*, *cart*, *heart*, *calm*, are pronounced by most Gullah speakers as if the vowel were that found in *fat*, *that*, *hat*. This vowel is prolonged slightly, so that *heart* becomes *haat*, *lark* be-

[15] In tracing the relation between the Gullah phonology and the seventeenth-century English dialect phonology, there is of course some difficulty in obtaining accurate accounts of the latter. In most of the English dialect areas, however, there has been no great change in the phonological traits, so that eighteenth and nineteenth century records are accurate enough in general for the purposes of this analysis. Various dictionaries, grammars, and dialect glossaries have been consulted, also the works of men like Halliwell, Skeat, Sweet, the Wrights, etc. The monumental works, *The English Dialect Grammar* and *The English Dialect Dictionary*, both edited by Joseph Wright, draw upon all sources, and I have relied upon them for much of my comparative data.

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194 comes *laak*, *spark* is *spaak*, and *palm* is *paam*. These flat *a* sounds are merely survivals of English dialect speech.[16] They are still found in England, and they are common among the low-country white people in South Carolina.[17] Their frequency gives a flat tinge to the whole Gullah dialect.

In words like *father*, *water*, *watch*, the *a*, not being affected by an *r* or an *l*, is pronounced practically the same as in standard English, although local and individual variations occur, ranging from the flat *a* of the type mentioned above to the broad *a* of *father*.

(*a*, as in *hat*)

Many words which in the standard language have this sound of *a* have in Gullah the broad *a*, as in *father*. Acoustically this sound is about the same as the *o* in *hot*, *pot*, etc. Thus we hear *mon*, *bock*, *plont*, *robbit*, *foctry*, for *man*, *back*, *plant*, *rabbit*, *factory*. This *a* sound gives some strange effects when used with words having the flat *a*. Thus *daak mon* for *dark man*, *maash lon* for *marsh land*. Occasionally *back* is pronounced *beck* [pɛt]. In England the prevailing sound of *a* in these words was broad, with a sprinkling of narrow *a* in the southern counties.

[128] In order that the general reader may not be disturbed over phonetic symbols which mean nothing to him, I have not used any symbols other than the conventional alphabet. However, by means of bracketed words I have tried to describe the various sounds accurately, so that any phoneticist may translate them into his system if he desires. A word inclosed in brackets indicates the vowel sound meant in a certain spelling. For example, the statement that "*cost* is pronounced *caust* [kɔst]" means that the vowel sound *au* is to be pronounced exactly like the *au* in *haul*.

[16] See *English Dialect Grammar*, Chap. I, also pp. 30-32, also index under various words having this *a* sound. Hereafter this work will be referred to in footnotes as *E. D. G.*

[17] *Pas* and *mas* for *pa* and *ma*, *maash* for *marsh*, and many others are frequent.

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Consonants

The points wherein the consonants in the dialect differ from the standard language will now be indicated. For simplicity I am taking the consonants in alphabetical order rather than classifying them as liquids, labials, gutturals, etc., as is sometimes done.

b. This consonant is sometimes omitted in the medial position in words such as *nummuh*, number, *rammle*, ramble, *grumlin*, grumbling, etc. Similar pronunciations are found among uncultivated whites, who inherited them from England. Wright says, *b* "hardly ever occurs in any of the dialects between *m-l* or *m-r* in such words as *bramble, thimble, chamber, number.*"[31]

In some words medial *b* is changed to *v*. Thus *navuh*, neighbor, *lavuh*, labor.[32] A *b* is nearly always found in chimney: *chimbly*.[33]

c. This consonant has generally remained the same as in standard English.

d. In a few words *d* has become *j*: *ijuh*, idea, *jew*, dew, *jues*, dues, *Injun*, Indian, etc.[34] Medial *d* is omitted in some words, e. g., *bunnle*, bundle, *cannle*, candle, *chillun*, children, etc.[35] Final *d* is omitted in a great many words where *d* follows *n* or *l*, as in band, bind, blind, fold, bold, hand, land, wind, etc. This is common among American white people and was brought over from the

[31] Elizabeth Mary Wright, *Rustic Speech and Folk-Lore*, p. 135.

[32] Gonzales reports these in his glossary in *The Black Border*. They are not at all common on St. Helena. A parallel is found in the widespread English dialect pronunciation, *marvel* for *marble*. See Wright, *Rustic Speech*, p. 135.

[33] Very common in England.

[34] *Cf.* Wright, *Dialect Grammar*, p. 231, for identical tendency in English dialect.

[35] The same is true in English dialects. *Cf.* Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

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as the following will be heard occasionally: *adswocate* (advocate), *bactize* (baptize), *bidout* (without), *cumposhashum* (conversation), *dimmycrack* (Democrat), *disgustuss* (disgusting), *fench* (fence), *muskick* (musket) *ruggidge* (rugged), *shoesh* (shoes), *stustificate* (certificate), etc. Some pronunciations of this kind are descended from English dialect, some represent the minimum of accuracy which it was necessary for the Negro to achieve in order to make himself understood, and others are individual idiosyncrasies of the sort that are likely to appear in dialect anywhere.

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GULLAH GRAMMAR

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The Gullah grammar is merely simplified English grammar. Distinctions of person, number, gender, case, and tense have all been reduced to the minimum. Some of the features of Gullah grammar were copied directly from English dialect, and the rest seems easily explained on the basis of the simplified or "baby talk" type of speech used by the whites in teaching the raw slaves to understand English. The significant points of the Gullah grammar may be summarized briefly as follows. Only those particulars in which the dialect deviates from the standard language will be mentioned.

[191] [177] [128].

Nouns

As a rule the singular of a noun does duty for the plural. "Duh roostuh crow" may mean one rooster or ten roosters or any number of roosters. A sack of potatoes weighs fifty *pound*, a year has twelve *mont'*. However, *mens* is used for the plural of man, crabs are *crabbies*, while the ox is *oxin* and more than one is *two ox, t'ree*

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192 may be obtained by a statistical analysis of the largest published glossary available. Gonzales[93] has listed nearly 2,000 of the words most commonly used in the dialect in the Edisto Island region. If these words be divided arbitrarily into appropriate classes, the following distribution results:[94]

I.	Standard English words pronounced in standard way or as in English dialect of 18th century...	92 per cent
II.	Corruptions and mutilations of standard English words (some of these corruptions are no doubt of English dialect origin).....	6 per cent
III.	Archaic and obsolescent English words.....	2 per cent
IV.	African words .....Less than	0.5 per cent

A Partial List of Archaic and Provincial English Usages Surviving in the Dialect[95]

•128 192 The following list includes the most common archaic and provincial English words found in the dialect. A prolonged study would reveal several others, perhaps, but these are the most common. Few, if any, of these, however, occur exclusively in the Gullah, for in various other parts of this country many of these words survive either among Negroes or white people or both. Some are not used on St. Helena, as far as I can ascertain. The list is composed of words not now in general use, and words in general use but having an archaic meaning in the Gullah.

[93] *The Black Border*, Glossary, pp. 287-340.

[94] This distribution also holds good for Whaley's glossary of 1,500 words. Jones' glossary is relatively short, and most of his words are found in Gonzales' list.

[113] [95] For tracing the paternity of various Gullah words, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, Wright's *Provincial Dictionary*, Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, and the *N. E. D. (New English Dictionary)* are invaluable.

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and I believe that a diligent search among the less sophisticated islanders will reveal about as high a proportion of this type of story as is found in the Bahamas and West Indies.

Mrs. Parsons also believed that obscene turns, so common in the Bahamas, were "quite lacking in Carolina." This might have been true as far as she could tell, for the Negroes were undoubtedly inhibited in the presence of a woman collector. I found their stories and riddles quite rich in *double entente* and obscene turns, and the most vulgar story I heard was told me by a 16-year-old school girl. Many stories have their "other" versions. On several occasions, men or boys told the conventional versions if girls were present, and then took me aside to tell me the tabooed versions. These were often merely risqué or vulgar rather than truly obscene, but there was plenty of the latter to disprove Mrs. Parsons' idea. Indeed, whether she knows it or not, her book contains a considerable quantity of vulgar folklore.

Because of the existence of Mrs. Parsons' excellent book, it is unnecessary to give in detail in the present report all of the folklore collected on St. Helena Island. A few typical stories, riddles, beliefs, etc., are sufficient here. For further details and for a larger bibliography of Negro folklore, one may consult Mrs. Parsons' work. *Black Yeomanry*, by T. J. Woofter, Jr., and *A Social History of the Sea Islands*, by Guion Griffis Johnson, companion volumes to this one, contain much valuable material relating to folkways on St. Helena Island.

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Some families still cover up all mirrors and stop the clocks in the house for a time after a death. Mrs. King related that an old woman showed her some spots on a mirror, saying that the spots were eyes of spirits which came back because the mirror was not covered. The water used to bathe the dead person must be disposed of carefully, for to step over the place where it is poured will cause boils and sores on the legs. 764 (753)

A list of all the other beliefs surviving in the Negro culture of St. Helena Island would fill a small volume. Since there is little in them which differs from Southern Negro folk beliefs in general, it is not worth while to include them here. Mrs. Parsons' work may be consulted for further St. Helena beliefs, and Puckett's *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* may be consulted for a detailed discussion of the whole field of Negro superstition. 128 (171) (114)

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121 *manry* by T. J. Woofter, Jr. Other special aspects of the
113 island culture, such as the Gullah dialect, folk songs, and folklore, are presented in the third volume, *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island*, by Guy B. Johnson.

127 In the preparation of this manuscript I have become
128 greatly indebted to many persons. To name all of those who have assisted me in obtaining data or in putting me on the trail of old plantation records would make a long list. I am grateful to each of them. I am especially indebted to Mr. William Elliott, of Columbia, South Carolina, who has generously lent me all of his family papers bearing on the study and who has carefully gone over my manuscript; to Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, who very kindly made the records in his office accessible for purposes of this study and who has made many valuable notations on my manuscript; to Miss Rossa B. Cooley and Miss Grace B. House, principals of Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School, of St. Helena Island, who have graciously facilitated the collection of data; to Professor J. G. de R. Hamilton and Professor R. D. W. Connor, of the History Department of the University of North Carolina, and Dr. Katharine Jocher, assistant director of the Institute for Research in Social Science, who have carefully read the manuscript; and to Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., director of the St. Helena project, who has sympathetically guided this study to its completion. I am also indebted to Mr. George Foster Peabody and the Corporation of Yaddo for a delightful summer at Triuna Island, on Lake George, where much of this manuscript was written.

G. G. J.

June, 1930.
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

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